

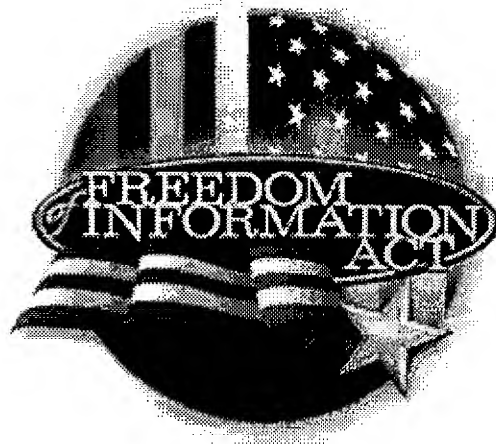


# **FREEDOM OF INFORMATION AND PRIVACY ACTS**

**SUBJECT: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE**

**FILE NUMBER: 100-4712**

**PART: 7 OF 19**



**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**

# FILE DESCRIPTION

## BUREAU FILE

SUBJECT America First Committee

FILE NO. 100-4712

SECTION NO. 7

SERIALS 336

through

370

CONFIDENTIAL

4/17/42  
100-4712

Classified by SP8BJ/CCL  
Declassify on OADR 10-17-90  
318,519

SEARCHED  
SERIALIZED  
INDEXED  
FILED  
APR 17 1942  
b7c

MEMORANDUM FOR ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL  
WHEELER BERGE

*America First Committee*

8/23/49  
per Army letter dated 5/29/91  
AMERICANS FOR PEACE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE.

For your information and consideration at this time, there is summarized hereinafter the material contained in the files of this Bureau with reference to the above captioned individual, and the organization initiated by him, namely, Americans for Peace.

[redacted] who apparently is identical with the above captioned individual, first came to the attention of the Federal Bureau of Investigation when he addressed a letter, dated June 11, 1940, to [redacted] the National Interfraternity Conference, 26 Broadway, New York City, enclosing a leaflet entitled "To The Youth of America". For your complete information, a copy of this letter and enclosure are attached hereto. The Interfraternity Conference took no action whatsoever on the basis of the above communication.

Horace Mann was one of those present at a meeting held on December 17, 1941, in the home of Edwin S. Webster, New York City, which meeting was addressed by Charles Lindbergh. The gist of Lindbergh's speech was as follows:

"There is only one danger in the world today - that is the yellow danger. China and Japan are bound together against the white race. There could only have been one efficient weapon against this alliance, underneath the surface, Germany itself could have been this weapon. The ideal set-up would have been to have had Germany take over Poland and Russia, in collaboration with the British, as a bloc against the yellow people and But instead, the British and the fools in Washington had to interfere. The British served the Germans and wanted to rule the world forever. Britain is the real cause of all the trouble in the world today."

100-4712-334

APR 23 1942  
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. E. A. Tamm
- Mr. Clegg
- Mr. Glavin
- Mr. Ladd
- Mr. Nichols
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Tracy
- Mr. Carson
- Mr. Coffey
- Mr. Hendon
- Mr. Holloman
- Mr. McGuire
- Mr. Quinn Tamm
- Mr. Nease
- Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION  
M A I  
APR 21 1942 P.M.  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

CONFIDENTIAL  
*Handwritten signatures and initials*

CONFIDENTIAL

"Of course, America First cannot be active right now. But it should keep on the alert and when the large missing lists and losses are published the American people will realize how much they have been betrayed by the British and the Administration. Then America First can be a political force again. We must be quiet for a while and await the time for active functioning. There may be a time soon when we can advocate a negotiated peace." (S-1 (X)) (File No. 100-4712-271)

After this speech by Lindbergh, ~~Edward~~ ~~Barnes~~ declared in substance (S-1 (X)). b7c

"I do not quite agree on one point with the Colonel. It is obviously necessary for the leaders of America First such as Wood and Webster to keep quiet. But the organization should not be destroyed. I have never been in the line light and have nothing to lose. I can remain active in a quiet way. I should like to offer to keep the files, etc. We must get ready for the next attack which must be made on this Communist administration. We must combat Union Now. If and when the great moment comes, I feel sure that our leaders--and especially the Colonel--will take the leadership and lead us to victory." (G-2 communication, File No. 100-4712-271) (S-1 (X))

There were about fifty persons present at this meeting, including the leaders of the former America First Committee. The expressions by others present were similar in sympathy with those set forth hereinabove. (S-1 (X))

Information was developed by this Bureau during the investigation of [redacted] indicating the affiliation of [redacted] with the America First Committee. It should be noted, however, that [redacted] is allegedly a Nazi sympathizer and himself a participant in the affairs of the America First Committee. [redacted] at one time was employed by [redacted] b7c

[redacted] During the inquiry concerning [redacted] information was secured from a confidential source that [redacted] was a close friend of [redacted]

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CONFIDENTIAL

[REDACTED] was active in the affairs of the American First Committee, and was allegedly violently anti-British.

Under date of December 30, 1941, this source revealed that [REDACTED] was active in the Brooklyn chapter of the American First Committee, and [REDACTED] it was alleged further that he belonged to a Political Substituting of the American First Committee. His general line of thinking was allegedly in favor of a revolution on the basis that "This is not our war, impeach the President". The [REDACTED] mentioned is allegedly a very close friend of [REDACTED]. This source also revealed that [REDACTED] has approached parents of the victim of the U. S. destroyer "Arden J. Fox" and secured their signatures to a statement which in effect contended that "they did not intend that their sons should die in President Roosevelt's private war on behalf of the British". [REDACTED] has been known to boast that he had a girl friend [REDACTED] who was in a position to give him valuable information. The same source revealed on January 8, 1942, that [REDACTED] mentioned hereinabove was discharged on that date.

Under date of January 13, 1942, [REDACTED] directed a letter to the New York Field Office of this Bureau enclosing a communication signed [REDACTED]. This communication read as follows:

"Dear Sir: As you probably know my present occupation does not permit me to be active as an air raid warden. Being an author and editor, I am constantly on the move, particularly in the evening. While retaining [REDACTED] as my legal settled address, I am seldom there and when in town must work and frequently grab a few hours sleep at my office. Hoping this will explain all. I am, very truly yours.

(File No. 100-56788) /s/ [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] further stated that [REDACTED] was a very active member of the American First Committee, having sponsored meetings and given lectures in this regard. (File No. 100-56788)

[REDACTED] on two occasions has made available to this Bureau correspondence between her and [REDACTED]. For your complete information, there are attached hereto copies of this correspondence described as follows:

Letter dated March 10, 1942, addressed to [REDACTED] and signed [REDACTED] enclosing a mimeographed sheet beginning "Fellow American" and signed "Americans for Peace", Room 203, 1165 Broadway, New York;

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

mimeographed sheet captioned "From the Atlantic to the Pacific Americans for Peace", beginning "We Believe"; and mimeographed sheet beginning "about the temporary chairman of Americans for Peace." (File No. 100-81322-2)

Letter dated March 24, 1942, addressed to [REDACTED] and signed National Director.

Letter dated March 27, 1942, addressed to [REDACTED] and signed [REDACTED] enclosing a mimeographed sheet "To Organization Heads and Secretaries", signed "Americans for Peace".

[REDACTED] in the past has been closely affiliated with various isolationist groups.

There has also been made available copies of a letter dated March 7, 1942, addressed to the "Editor, America, 320 W. 110th Street, New York City", signed by [REDACTED] to which was attached a leaflet beginning "Fellow American" which was mentioned hereinabove and a mimeographed sheet beginning "whether you join as a member..." Copies of this letter and the second enclosure are attached hereto for your information. (File No. 100-81322-3) b7c

An unknown source under date of March 23, 1942, advised that [REDACTED] one of the former leaders of the America First Committee, has formed a new group in New York City [REDACTED] and stated that he is making talks demanding that America get out of the war and that the "first objective of the new organization is the earliest possible peace". It is further alleged that meetings to which [REDACTED] makes speeches are generally sponsored by [REDACTED] of an organization [REDACTED] in turn is stated to have once served as the leader of the League of the German National Societies, and has on occasions sponsored meetings where former Silver Shirt officials spoke. [REDACTED] is also formerly alleged to have prepared articles for the Deutscher Beobachter und Beobachter, an official organization of the German-American Bund.

[REDACTED] was also supposed to be associated with one [REDACTED] who allegedly has considerable information on the Monetary System. The headquarters of this latter organization is stated to be the Single Tax Club, Room 203, 1165 Broadway, New York City.

[REDACTED] resides in [REDACTED] New York, and in conclusion it was stated that his grandparents came to the United States from Amsterdam, Holland in 1870. (Outside unknown source File No. 100-81322-4) 336

X

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
Advice is requested as to whether the above information and enclosures if widely distributed, as is suggested, would constitute a violation of any existing Federal statutes, and particularly the wartime sedition statute.

This Bureau is presently conducting an investigation into the background and activities of [REDACTED] and his attempts to distribute material and initiate organizations that may possibly interfere with the present war effort. Upon receipt of additional information it will be brought to your attention. b7c

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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XX 1960

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

b7c

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

FILE NO. 100-1461

REPORT MADE AT <b>CINCINNATI, OHIO</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>4-25-42</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>4-10, 17-42</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>[REDACTED] b7c</b>
TITLE <b>AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE</b>			CHARACTER OF CASE <b>INTERNAL SECURITY (G)</b>

**SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:**

Informants advise that subject organization in Cincinnati disbanded and their executive offices closed immediately following the U. S. declaration of war. There is no known nuclei carrying on activities in this Field Division. All records of the America First Committee are presently in the custody of [REDACTED]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE **10-17-90** BY **SP8 BTJ/cal**  
RUC

b7c

**REFERENCE:**

Bureau letter dated March 16, 1942.

**DETAILS:**

On April 10, 1942, [REDACTED] of the Cincinnati Field Division was contacted relative to the instant matter.

He advised that to the best of his knowledge the America First Committee had completely disbanded in Cincinnati and that no further activities of any kind were being carried on by that organization. He suggested that [REDACTED] be contacted to secure complete information. According to the Informant, [REDACTED]

b2  
b7D

b7c  
b7D

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <i>[Signature]</i> SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES <b>100-4712-337</b>		RECORDED & INDEXED
<b>COPY IN FILE</b> APR 27 1942		<b>b7c</b>	

XX 197  
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE  
INTERNAL SECURITY (G)

advised that he had been [redacted] of the America First Committee in Cincinnati; that he entered the organization upon the invitation of [redacted] one of the organizers of that committee in Cincinnati during the fall of 1940. When he was convinced that the U. S. was going to enter the war, he resigned from the organization and so advised that group of his opinion. He stated that all of the records of the organization are presently in the custody of [redacted]

[redacted] was certain that the organization had completely disbanded following the declaration of war and that no further activities of any kind were being carried on. He said that he knew the leaders of the group very well and has seen them innumerable times since December 1941. Had there been any activity whatsoever he believed he would know about it. He suggested, however, that this information be verified by contacting [redacted]

While interviewing [redacted] on another matter, the subject of the America First Committee came into the conversation and [redacted] discussed openly and freely the activities of that organization in Cincinnati. He stated that he had been [redacted] since its very inception; that they had enjoyed considerable success in their organization during the latter part of 1940 and the first part of 1941. Their membership at one time reached 13,000 members. He stated that at the beginning of the organization in Cincinnati, he had no idea that the organization would assume such large proportions. [redacted]

On the day following the Declaration of War, [redacted]

[redacted] ordered the offices of the organization closed and called a meeting of the Board of Directors of the Committee for the following day. At that meeting the organization was officially dissolved, and there has been no activity whatever in Cincinnati since that day.

[redacted] added that he knew the America First Committee had kept offices open in some cities in the country and were

YV198

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE  
INTERNAL SECURITY (G)

continuing their activities. However, he saw no purpose to be served by the organization now [REDACTED] b7C b7D

He stated that there had never been any connection between the America First Committee and any other organization in Cincinnati. He knew of no organization or of no group of members who might be attempting to carry on the work under another name.

Inasmuch as there appears to be no activities of this Committee in the Cincinnati Field Division and no further leads to be covered here, the instant case is being

REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN

XX 172

Detroit, Michigan

April 23rd, 1942

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10-17-90 BY SP9BJ/CCL

Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D.C.

Gentlemen:-

I am quite interested in the protection, etc. of the  
United States and the Allies, being an American citizen and British  
descent.

I am very well aware of the fact that there is a lot of  
feeling in this City for Germany, whether they are naturalized or  
not - it makes no difference with most of them. I have a lady friend  
who long before the war became a very good friend of mine - she is  
from Germany and is a naturalized citizen. She told me herself that  
she has three brother-in-laws here in Detroit and they work in de-  
fense plants and that they did everything they could do, to the last,  
to keep from doing defense work, as, of course, they are helping  
make things which the allies are using to fight their own relatives  
in Germany.

So I feel that these naturalized Germans are the boys  
who cause a lot of trouble in the factories here - they tell me that  
plenty of these large machines break down, for no good reason, and  
that production is held up in many ways. I do not trust one of them  
as far as I can see them and I guess no good loyal American does.

Another thing, I heard over the radio from some radio  
commentator that the America First Committee was going to be investi-  
gated, contributions, where to, from whom, etc., I do hope that  
the FBI will do this very thing, especially in this City, it will  
maybe do a lot of good and show where the most of the feeling lies.  
There is a man by the name of Gerald L. K. Smith here, who is no  
better.

RECORDED

Yours very truly,

100-4712-33

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

An American Citizen

U.S.

b7c

PS!  
I happen to know some  
things about it.

BUY  
DEFENSE SAVINGS  
BONDS AND STAMPS

DEPT. OF TREASURY  
APR 25 530PM  
1942

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 10-17-90 BY SP8BKH/CAL

Federal Bureau of Investigation

Washington, D.C.

100-4712-338

XX196



XX 192  
SENDING REPLY TO  
"THE ATTORNEY GENERAL"  
AND REFER TO  
INITIALS AND NUMBER

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

April 22, 1942

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. J. EDGAR HOOVER, DIRECTOR  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Mr. Tolson	.....
Mr. E. A. Tamm	.....
Mr. Clegg	.....
Mr. Glavin	.....
Mr. Ladd	.....
Mr. Nichols	.....
Mr. Rosen	.....
Mr. Tracy	.....
Mr. Carson	.....
Mr. Coffey	.....
Mr. Hendon	.....
Mr. Kramer	.....
Mr. McGuire	.....
Mr. Quinn Tamm	.....
Mr. Nease	.....
Miss Gandy	.....

In reference to your memorandum of January 7, 1942 relating to the examination of material in the possession of [REDACTED] of New York City, we have communicated with [REDACTED] and he suggests that the material is dispersed at this time.

b7c  
b7D

We are asking Mr. Samuel Bisgyer of this Unit to contact [REDACTED] in New York in an effort to locate the material and have asked him when the material is located to communicate with Mr. Foxworth in your New York office, in order to give him an opportunity to review the material if he so desires.

~~DEFERRED RECORDING~~  
gfw

Lawrence M. C. Smith  
Chief, Special Defense Unit

By Frank W. Crocker  
Frank W. Crocker  
Assistant Chief

memorial  
4/27/42  
FBI  
let to SACNY  
4/11/42  
b7c

Division Trial Committee



COPY IN FILE

RECORDED & INDEXED

100-4712-339  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
15 APR 28 1942  
[REDACTED]

FBI b7c

NOTED DEAR HOOVER  
DIRECTOR

Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice  
Washington, D. C.

**April 23, 1942**

10 P.M.  
4/23/42

**MEMORANDUM FOR MR. LADD**

Re: Examination of Material in  
Possession of [REDACTED]  
New York, New York

Reference is made to the attached memorandum dated April 22, 1942, which was received from the Special Defense Unit of the Department relative to the examination of material in the possession of [REDACTED] of New York City. In this memorandum it is stated that Mr. Samuel Bisgyer of the Special Defense Unit would contact [REDACTED] in an effort to locate the material and that Mr. Bisgyer was instructed to communicate with the New York Office of the FBI in the event the material was located, in order that the Bureau could review it.

On April 22 [redacted] telephoned me stating that he was proceeding to New York City on the following day for the purpose of reviewing the material in [redacted] possession. He advised that he would like to have an Agent of the New York Office assist him in reviewing the data, and that he could be reached at his residence in [redacted]. [redacted] indicated that the material to be examined might be located in the office of "The Hour" organization, but that he contemplated making arrangements in order that the material could be examined somewhere other than in this office. Supervisor [redacted] telephoned Special Agent [redacted] of the New York Office on the evening of April 23, 1942 concerning this matter, stating the Bureau desired that an Agent of the New York Office immediately get in touch with Mr. Bisgyer in order to assist him in the examination of [redacted] material. It was pointed out to Agent [redacted] that [redacted] was reported to have material pertaining to Fifth Column activities in the United States, and that Mr. Foxworth would personally recall plans which were made several months ago whereby a representative of the Department and an Agent of the New York Office were to examine this material, and that these plans fell through at that time.

A letter has been directed to the New York Office confirming the instructions issued relative to assisting Mr. Bisgyer in the examination of the material referred to above.

**RECORDS**

**& Respectfully**

## INDEX

APR 28 1962

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

**K. Mumford**

5 MAY 1, 1942

1 ENCL. 15

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 10-17-90 SPB/SLC

United States Senate

April 7, 1942.

Respectfully referred to

Hon. J. Edgar Hoover,  
Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation,  
Washington D.C.

with thanks for such favorable consideration as  
the communication herewith submitted warrants,  
and for a report thereon, to accompany return  
of inclosure.

By direction of

*H.C. Lodge, Jr.*  
H.C. Lodge, Jr. U. S. S.

... 8-3479

ENCLO: 12

F

KIT and  
4/12/42

100-4712-341

APR 4 1942

670

b7c

April 8, 1942;

Senator Henry Cabot Lodge,  
Washington, D.C.  
Dear Senator Lodge.

I am hoping that this letter will reach you after you have returned refreshed from your Easter recess. It is about something which troubles me very much because of its sinister implications.

We all know that the Amtorg Company in New York formerly was the headquarters of the OGPU but now that Russia has become sacro sanct and no one must breathe a word of criticism about her I fear that those headquarters have spread all over the country. And that Boston is not free from their sinister practices.

To be specific. At the out-break of the war the younger men of American First enlisted. And quite privately entre nous from what I have observed in the face of one of them at least, I should say that the War Department was making him pay for his beliefs. I saw him to-day and he looked like a man who had been tortured. I hardly knew him. They made him kitchen police and I it is possible that hard work has produced the change. To go on - The women of the party continued to keep in touch with each other by meeting once a month at lunch, but of course not carrying on their former activities. Now suddenly they have been subjected enquiry by the FBI on charges of subversive activities. It came to them as a complete surprise. They have no idea who is at the bottom of it but suspect that one of their members is a traitor. At least, she brought one day two women as guests and throughout the meeting these women took notes of what was happening in short hand. Nobody asked why because they had been accepted as guests of a friend. And it was after their visit that the investigation began.

Also the Secretary was visited by women who urged her to bring the members into a peace society and she thought that they were trying to trap her. But she kept clear of them.

Now my contention is - that if we are not to be treated to the methods of the OGPU, they have a right to know who sent the investigators and why.

I do not altogether accept their explanation because another seems just as plausible to me. It could be the Wilkie campaign carried on under cover, he having announced his intention of purging the Republican party of American First members. Of course there is Bushnell to help with all his power - he could be an OGPU all by himself and no one who heard him speak at the Republican meeting can doubt where he stands. Claiming Wilkie as a leader. Then there was Wilkie's rally at the Women's Republican Club a short while ago when he spoke of the Republican leaders adding modestly "Of which I am one."

And then there are the Agar-Richelberger combination who held the red rally in Symphony Hall last winter, shrieking with joy when the red flag was unfolded. To play the Internationale it seems has become a commonplace.

I am writing to you entirely on my own initiative without the knowledge of the others. But this is what I am insisting - if we are not already a totalitarian state they have a right to know the names of their accusers and of what they are accused. With specific, explicit statements. Let those short hand women read to some authority what they wrote - although I am not sure that it would not be a garbled version of whatever they heard.

Please help me in this. Once before you showed a letter of mine to J. Edgar Hoover and got his advice. Cannot you put the case to him hypothetically without names or places?

Yours very sincerely,

b7c

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100-4712-340

RECEIVED  
GENERAL INVESTIGATIVE  
DIVISION

April 24, 1942

Honorable H. C. Lodge, Jr.  
United States Senate  
Washington, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10-12-90 BY SP8STJ/cal

My dear Senators:

I was glad to receive your letter of April 7, 1942 and its enclosure and have noted with considerable interest the content of the letter directed to you by [redacted] on April 5, 1942. b7c

It was indeed kind of you to forward me this information and I want you to know that this matter will be given appropriate consideration.

The enclosure which you forwarded with your letter of April 7, 1942 is being returned to you herewith.

With expressions of my highest esteem and best regards,

Sincerely yours,

- Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Coffey \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. McGuire \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Holloman \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Enclosure

154 82  
5 MAY 8 1942

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION  
MAILED 6  
★ APR 24 1942 P.M.  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

APR 24 4 11 PM  
RECEIVED-DIRECTOR  
F B I  
U. S. DEPT OF JUSTICE

b7c

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **CHICAGO, ILLINOIS**

FILE NO. **100-1789**

<b>REPORT MADE AT</b> <b>HUNTINGTON, W. VA.</b>	<b>DATE WHEN MADE</b> <b>4-27-42</b>	<b>PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE</b> <b>4-1-42 15, 19, 20, 21, 24-42</b>	<b>REPORT MADE BY</b> <div style="background-color: black; width: 100px; height: 1.2em; display: inline-block;"></div> <b>b7c</b>
<b>TITLE</b> <b>AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE</b>			<b>CHARACTER OF CASE</b> <b>INTERNAL SECURITY-G</b>

**SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:** Surveys conducted in West Virginia and no indication found of activity of America First Committee or endeavor to keep same alive.

EUC

**REFERENCE:** Bureau letter dated 3-16-42.

**DETAILS:** Surveys were conducted in Huntington, Charleston, Bluefield, Wheeling, Wellsburg, Weirton, Fairmont, Moundsville, Parkersburg, Clarksburg, New Martinsville, and Morgantown, West Virginia, to ascertain if there is any activity in connection with the America First Committee or if the Committee is being kept alive in an underground manner. The surveys were thorough and were absolutely negative, there being no indication of any activity of any kind on the part of the America First Committee. No evidence was obtained that the America First Committee has ever been active in the State of West Virginia.

The names of the persons contacted in connection with the surveys are on file in the Huntington Office but are not being set out herein.

REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10-12-90 BY SP8 BTJ/ccl

<b>APPROVED AND FORWARDED:</b> <div style="text-align: center; margin-top: 10px;">   <b>R. J. Untch</b>  <small>SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE</small> </div>	<b>DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES</b> <div style="font-size: 1.5em; font-weight: bold; text-align: center; margin-top: 10px;"> 100 - 4712 - 341 </div>
<b>COPIES OF THIS REPORT</b> 5-Bureau 3-Chicago 2-Huntington	<div style="font-size: 2em; font-weight: bold; text-align: center; margin-top: 10px;"> COPY IN FILE </div>

COPIES DESTROYED

XX174

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Phoenix FILE NO. 100-779

REPORT MADE AT <b>Phoenix, Arizona</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>4-28-42</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>4-20, 28-42</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>[REDACTED] b7c</b>
TITLE <b>AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE</b>		CHARACTER OF CASE <b>INTERNAL SECURITY - C.</b>	
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 10-17-90 BY SP8BJS/csl			
SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: Information from informant indicates AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE is inactive at present time. However, [REDACTED] was transmitted to its Chicago Headquarters prior to termination of organization. <b>b7D</b>			
- RUC -			
REFERENCE: Bureau letter to all offices dated March 16, 1942.			
DETAILS: <u>AT PHOENIX, ARIZONA</u>			
[REDACTED] advised that at the time the Arizona Branch of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE disbanded, immediately after the outbreak of the war, the following persons were officers: <b>b2 b7D</b>			
FRANK HILGEMAN, Chairman. WALTER C. DAY, Vice-President. Mrs. LOIS MUNSIL, Secretary. Mrs. HELEN PERKINS, Treasurer.			
Information was furnished by informant that at the time the organization was disbanded it was composed of approximately 200 persons and further, that the names of the members appear upon the charter of the organization, which charter was to have been sent to the National Headquarters in Chicago, Ill. However, informant advised [REDACTED] was sent to the National Headquarters while the organization was functioning. He stated that since the termination of the organization there has been no agitation on the part of any former members to continue any semblance of an organization. <b>b7D</b>			
APPROVED AND FORWARDED	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES	
COPIES OF THIS REPORT 5 - Bureau 2 - Chicago 2 - G-2 Phoenix 1 - G-1 Tucson 2 - Phoenix		100-4712-342 252 APR 30 1942 RECORDED & INDEXED <b>b7c</b>	

COPY IN FILE



yy 175

Phoenix file No. 100-779  
Re: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE  
SA: [REDACTED]

b7c

However, informant stated that at the time the organization was disbanded a resolution was passed by the members authorizing the president, at any time deemed necessary, to notify all the members to call a meeting at some subsequent time. Informant advised that even though this was done there is no plan at the present time to hold any meetings in the future, but the resolution was passed in order to meet any contingency which might arise.

[REDACTED] advised that there is no activity by any of the former officers of this organization. She stated that some of the members feel that their motives were not properly understood and feel rather keen when accused of being responsible for this country's not being properly prepared for war. She advised that [REDACTED] of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, is primarily anti-administration and while he is thoroughly loyal to the Government at the present time, as far as the war effort is concerned, he is almost constantly associated with some reform movement and at the present time he is trying to start a money reform movement in Phoenix, Arizona.

b2  
b7D

b7c

Informant advised that in the event there is any activity in the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE at any time, she will immediately advise this office.

- REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN -



Y 172

b7c

343  
100-4712-247

May 14, 1942

RECORDED

Special Agent In Charge  
New York, New York

RE: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE  
INTERNAL SECURITY (Q)

Dear Sir:

There are attached hereto copies of a memorandum dated May 1, 1942, received at the Bureau from the Special Defense Unit of the Department of Justice dealing with certain contacts made in New York City regarding the captioned organization. It is noted therefrom that the information in the files of the Anti-Defamation League, New York City has been made available to Special Agent [redacted] in accordance with the arrangements of Samuel L. Risger of the Special Defense Unit.

b7c

In view of the interest of the Special Defense Unit in securing a completed report in this regard, you are directed to give preferred attention to the completion of the review of this material and the submission of a report.

Very truly yours,

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10-17-90 BY SP8BJJ/c

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

- Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. E.A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Coffey \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Kramer \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. McGuire \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Enclosure

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION  
MAILED 7  
★ MAY 15 1942 P.M.  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

DEPT OF JUSTICE  
RECEIVED-NY 11 1007  
MAY 12 3 55 PM '42

b7c

MAY 21 1942

XY 172

ADDRESS REPLY TO  
"THE ATTORNEY GENERAL"  
AND REFER TO  
INITIALS AND NUMBER

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

WASHINGTON, D. C.

May 1, 1942

Mr. Tolson	.....
Mr. E. A. Tamm	.....
Mr. Clegg	.....
Mr. Glavin	.....
Mr. Ladd	.....
Mr. Nichols	.....
Mr. Rosen	.....
Mr. Tracy	.....
Mr. Carson	.....
Mr. Coffey	.....
Mr. Hendon	.....
Mr. Kramer	.....
Mr. McGuire	.....
Mr. Quinn Tamm	.....
Mr. Nease	.....
Miss Gandy	.....
Files	.....

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. J. EDGAR HOOVER

DIRECTOR, FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Re: [REDACTED]

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7

In accordance with arrangements made by this Unit with [REDACTED] of New York City and the Bureau, referred to in the memorandum from the Bureau to this Unit dated January 7, 1942 and further referred to in the memorandum of this Unit to the Bureau dated April 22, 1942, Mr. Samuel S. Bisgyer of this Unit conferred with [REDACTED] together with [REDACTED], a Special Agent attached to your New York office, on April 28, 1942 at the office of Life and Time magazines, 14 W. 49th Street, New York City.

FBI  
b7c

[REDACTED] informed the representatives of the Department that the material which he had in connection with the proposed publication of the Nazi influence on the America First Committee, had been returned by him shortly after the declaration of the state of war. The bulk of this material came from the files of the Anti-Defamation League in New York City. Mr. Bisgyer made arrangements with the League to facilitate the examination of this material by [REDACTED] for a cursory examination only could have been made in the limited time at Mr. Bisgyer's disposal in New York.

FBI  
b7c

After [REDACTED] has abstracted this material, we will appreciate your forwarding a copy of his report to this Unit.

FBI  
b7c

Lawrence M. C. Smith  
Chief, Special Defense Unit

By

*Frank W. Crocker*  
Frank W. Crocker  
Assistant Chief

COPIES

FOR DEFENSE



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&  
INDEXED

100-4712-343  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
18 MAY 1 1942  
U. S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

EX-3

FBI  
b7c

5-2  
NY

April 23, 1942

Special Agent in Charge  
New York, New York

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to your letter dated December 18, 1941 and to Bureau letter dated January 7, 1942 concerning the desire of the Special Defense Unit to review material in the possession of [redacted] of New York, New York, pertaining to Fifth Column activities in the United States. You will recall that several months ago arrangements were made for a representative of the Department and a Bureau Agent to examine this material, but these arrangements fall through and the material was never examined.

This is to confirm the information and instructions furnished Special Agent [redacted] of your office by Supervisor [redacted] on April 23, 1942.

On April 22, 1942, the following memorandum was received from the Special Defense Unit of the Department concerning this matter:

"In reference to your memorandum of January 7, 1942 relating to the examination of material in the possession of [redacted] of New York City, we have communicated with [redacted] and he suggests that the material is dispersed at this time.

We are asking Mr. Samuel Hiegar of this Unit to contact [redacted] in New York in an effort to locate the material and have him call him when the material is located to communicate with Mr.

Punworth in your New York office, in order to give him an opportunity to review the material if he so desires."

On April 22 Mr. Samuel Hiegar of the Special Defense Unit of the Department communicated with the Bureau stating that he would proceed to New York City the following day for the purpose of examining the material in [redacted] possession. He requested that an Agent accompany him to examine the data and pointed out that he could be reached at his residence in [redacted]

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. E. A. Tamm  
Mr. Clegg  
Mr. Glavin  
Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tracy  
Mr. Carson  
Mr. Coffey  
Mr. McGuire  
Mr. Holloman  
Mr. Hendon  
Mr. Quinn Tamm  
Mr. Nease  
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAILED 10

APR 28 1942 P.M.

BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICEALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 10-17-90 BY SP8 BJS/CL

100-4712-344  
Classified by [redacted] on 5/30/91  
Declassify on 8/14/91

b7c

b7c  
b7D

100-4712-344

[redacted] SECTION  
b7c

America First Committee

[REDACTED] Mr. Biagyer stated that the material to be examined might be located in the office of "The Four", and that if this was the case he wanted to make arrangements so that he and the Agent assisting him could examine the material at some other location. b2c

In accordance with the instructions furnished Special Agent [REDACTED] of your office on April 23, 1942, the Bureau desires that an Agent of your office contact Mr. Biagyer and assist him in an examination of the material in [REDACTED] possession. All information obtained from this examination which appears to be of interest should be forwarded to the Bureau at the earliest possible date. b7c

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

XX/63

Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice  
New York, New York

100-9887

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10-17-90 BY SP8BJS/C

May 2, 1942 b7c

Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

Re: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE;  
INTERNAL SECURITY - G.

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to Bureau letter dated April 25, 1942 confirming information and instructions telephonically communicated to Special Agent [redacted] of this office by Supervisor [redacted] of the Bureau, on April 23, 1942 and concerning the examination of material relating to subversive activities in the possession of [redacted] by Mr. SAMUEL BISGYER, of the Special Defense Unit of the Department.

On April 28, 1942, following several days of contact with Mr. BISGYER, Special Agent [redacted] of this office, accompanied Mr. Bisgyer in his call upon [redacted] New York City. However, at the time of this interview, [redacted] informed that all of the material in question had been returned by him some time ago to [redacted] and who is known to the Bureau and the New York Field office. b7c b7d

At this time [redacted] advised that he had secured such material which pertained to subversive activities, particularly concerning the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, in contemplation of writing a series of articles or a book exposing certain Fifth Column activities in the United States. He spoke considerably, and with apparent sincerity, about the necessity of exposing such activities through journalistic efforts and his hope that such could be accomplished with the cooperation of the Department of Justice and other governmental agencies.

It should be noted that at the time of this interview, [redacted] mentioned that he understands that [redacted] mentioned above, and from whom he had secured his material and to whom he had returned it, is about to publish a book of a similar nature, although he indicated that he questioned the veracity of any matter set forth by [redacted].

Subsequent to the interview with [redacted] Mr. BISGYER indicated to accompanying agent that it was his belief that most of the material in ques-

100-9887

8 MAY 1942  
Let me  
5/14/42  
282  
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1 MAY 6

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XX 164

## Letter to the Director

May 2, 1942

tion which [REDACTED] had secured from, and returned to,

had furnished [redacted] considerable material upon the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE and similar organizations. Such material was produced by [redacted] and upon examination proved to be reports of his informants relating to activities and personnel of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE prior to its official dissolution in December of 1941. A preliminary examination of such proved it to be largely worthless material in the nature of bare allegations, Mr. BIGGER so expressing his opinion. However, arrangements were made with [redacted] for further and more detailed examination of the material in his possession and for the furnishing of duplicate copies of such to the New York Field office where such is possible. It is anticipated that this will be accomplished within the near future and any material of value concerning the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE will be included in reports of the investigation of it which is presently being conducted and any other information of interest from such source will be promptly furnished the Bureau.

Very truly yours,

P. E. Foxworth,  
Assistant Director



XX 128

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1  
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **Chicago, Illinois**

FILE NO. **100-3819**

REPORT MADE AT <b>Springfield, Illinois</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>5/8/42</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>3/31, 4/2, 14, 16, 17, 28, 30/42</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>[REDACTED]</b> <b>b7c</b>
TITLE <b>AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE</b>			CHARACTER OF CASE <b>INTERNAL SECURITY, C</b>

## SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

Investigation has disclosed that the America First Committee has apparently never been active in downstate Illinois, although a few meetings were held prior to the outbreak of war with Japan, and that no activities of the Committee are presently being carried on in the Springfield division. The Lincoln Park Chapter of this Committee was chartered on July 24, 1941 by the Corporation Division, Secretary of State, Springfield, Illinois, but no information available at Springfield as to its present activities as same are apparently centered in and around Chicago.

- R.U.C. -

## REFERENCE:

Bureau letter dated March 16, 1942.

## DETAILS:

Upon receipt of referenced Bureau letter appropriate inquiry was instituted in all principal communities in the Springfield division with a view to ascertaining the extent of activities of the America First Committee prior to United States entry into this war, as well as the extent of the Committee's present activities in this division.

## AT SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS

Interviews were conducted by the writer with numerous sources of information in this city, including the following:

[REDACTED]

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <b>[Signature]</b>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES	
COPIES OF THIS REPORT ⑤ Bureau 3 Chicago 2 Des Moines 2 Springfield		100-4712-346	RECORDED <b>b7c</b>
U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE - 6 - 7-2034		FX-14	

81120  
Newspaper Morgues, Illinois State Journal and Illinois State Register.

It was ascertained through these sources that the America First Committee had never had an organization in Springfield and had never held any meetings here, nor is there any indication of any present membership in Springfield in this organization.

It may be stated that about one year ago Agent attended a public debate held at the Centennial Building, Springfield, between a representative of the America First Committee and a representative of the Committee to Defend America by Defending the Allies. This was attended in a personal and not an official capacity. The writer does not recall the names of the speakers but does recall that both were from Chicago, the representative of the America First Committee being an instructor at the University of Chicago. Debate was very mild and nothing was mentioned which could be construed as subversive.

#### AT DECATUR, ILLINOIS

Agent personally contacted the individuals listed below regarding this matter:

[REDACTED]

It was ascertained from the above individuals that this Committee had never had a branch in Decatur, although a public meeting was held in Decatur in the early part of 1941, at which a Chicago America First speaker gave an address. All of the above informants advised that the Committee is totally defunct so far as Decatur is concerned and that there is no indication of any underground movements allied with this organization.

#### AT PEORIA, ILLINOIS

[REDACTED] advised Special Agent [REDACTED] that only two meetings of the America First Committee were held in Peoria and that these were during summer of 1941. An effort was made at that time to get the organization going in Peoria and the American Legion kept in close touch with the situation. However, the entire project fell through due to the fact that no one could be prevailed upon to be a candidate for any of the official positions in the organization.

[REDACTED] He advised that since those meetings there has been no attempt whatever to revive the organization.

[REDACTED] advised reporting Agent that there is no semblance of the America First Committee left in Peoria.

AT DANVILLE, ILLINOIS

The following individuals were contacted by Special Agent [REDACTED] relative to this matter: b7c

[REDACTED] b7c b7D

These informants stated that the Committee had never been active in Danville and that it has never had nor does it now have any semblance of an organization here.

AT CHAMPAIGN, URBANA, ILLINOIS

The following investigation was conducted by Special Agent [REDACTED] b7c

[REDACTED] was contacted and he advised that at one time an attempt was made to organize an America First Committee [REDACTED] but their petition to organize was tabled [REDACTED] and no further attempt was made. Since that time no other organizations of similar nature have sprung up. [REDACTED] could provide the petition and other correspondence regarding the Committee.

[REDACTED] which stated that a petition was received from [REDACTED] acting Chairman and requesting permission for the recognition of the America First Committee. [REDACTED] b7c b7D

[REDACTED] also furnished the petition in this instance which listed the following people as petitioners: [REDACTED] b7c

There was a letter in the files [REDACTED]

to the America First Committee, [REDACTED]

quoted as follows: "Dear Friends: We wish you success in the organization of an America First Chapter and should like to contribute to your chapter if you will please write that you received this letter. Father O'BRIEN is doing so much for our cause that we should gladly help to defray the expense of bringing him here as a speaker. With sufficient publicity we feel Father O'BRIEN would draw a large audience and create such enthusiasm that America First would grow strong in this locality" and was signed [REDACTED] and [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised he had never had any indication that the America First Committee was ever organized or ever held any meetings in Champaign-Urbana and neither were there organizations of similar character in existence at the present time.

[REDACTED] He advised that the America First Committee was never organized in Champaign-Urbana but was only in the discussion stage; that not too much interest was taken in it and so it just faded out of the picture. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] said that [REDACTED] had been the most active one in getting the petition signed [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Further, he stated that there were no organizations of a similar nature that he knew of now located in Champaign, Urbana.

#### AT ROCK ISLAND AND MOLINE, ILLINOIS

The following investigation was conducted by Special Agent [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised that the Chairman of the America First Committee Chapter in Moline was J. R. ROSBOROUGH a young attorney who is highly reputable and thoroughly patriotic and loyal. He stated that Mr. ROSBOROUGH could be contacted discreetly for any information desired concerning the activities of the America First Committee.

[REDACTED] advised that he agreed [REDACTED] inasmuch as he honestly believed at one time that every effort should be made to prevent this country's becoming involved in the war. He stated that the Committee did not meet with much success in Moline and Rock Island; that it had about two meetings which were fairly well attended and received a small number of memberships in this locality. [REDACTED] advised further that in accordance with the expressed position of the Committee he was certain that all activity had ceased in this chapter [REDACTED]

[redacted] whose identity is known to the Bureau, advised that so far as he knows there has been no attempt made to retain a nucleus within the now defunct Moline Chapter of the America First Committee, which was the only one in Rock Island and Moline, Illinois. In this connection he advised, however, that he had heard that there had been some such attempt to maintain some organization among the former members of the Davenport, Iowa Chapter of the Committee. He could furnish no more specific information regarding this report. b2  
b7D

#### AT EAST ST. LOUIS, ILLINOIS

The following investigation was conducted by Special Agent [redacted] b7c

E. R. MCMALE, Assistant United States Attorney, who is a member of the American Legion and who follows civic affairs closely, advised that he had never seen any indication of the above Committee in East St. Louis.

[redacted] stated that there had been no indication that this Committee had functioned in this city. He checked the [redacted] with negative results. He mentioned that [redacted] who had been an Officer of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, would be able to furnish definite information in this regard.

[redacted] stated that the America First Committee apparently never established a branch in East St. Louis. He said on one occasion it was announced that a speaker representing this committee would speak at the City Hall, and he said a check revealed that either two or three people attended this meeting. He commented that this Committee apparently had a good deal of strength in St. Louis, Missouri and he thought it likely that a number of residents of East St. Louis had attended some of the public rallies of the Committee in St. Louis.

The persons interviewed stated there was not the slightest indication of any activity on the part of the Committee in the vicinity at present.

#### AT SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS

Reference is made to Chicago letter dated April 17, 1942 in which this office was requested to obtain certain information concerning the incorporation of the Lincoln Park Branch of the America First Committee.

In accordance with that request the records of the Corporation Division, Secretary of States's office in Springfield were checked and it was ascertained that the Lincoln Park Chapter, America First Committee, was chartered by the Corporation Division on July 24, 1941, certificate #11366. The object of the corporation, as set out in its certificate of incorporation, is quoted as follows: "To encourage and maintain in the United States of America, 1. peace and the democratic ideal, 2. program of adequate defense, 3. in furtherance of peace in this continent a policy of non-intervention in the affairs of other continents."

153  
The Incorporators and Directors for the first year are listed in order.

E. T. MEHL, 440 West Huron street, Chicago  
H. E. LARSON, 1044 West Byron Street, Chicago  
C. O. SANDS, 111 West Washington street, Chicago

The business office of the Corporation is listed as being located at  
3732 North Clark Street, Chicago.

It was further ascertained that this corporation had not yet filed the annual report of its activities, which was due in February 1942, and that unless same is filed in the immediate future steps will be taken by the Secretary of State to dissolve the Corporation. No further information concerning this organization is available at Springfield.

REFERRED UPON COMPLETION  
TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN

## UNDEVELOPED LEADS

THE DES MOINES OFFICE AT DAVENPORT, IOWA

Will ascertain whether the America First Committee or former members thereof are attempting to carry on any activities in this vicinity which might be inimical to the national defense.

REFERRED UPON COMPLETION  
TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN

XX127.

RECORD OF WITNESS TO ALL SACS

RECEIVED \_\_\_\_\_

CALL PLACED \_\_\_\_\_

COMPLETED:

CONFERENCE 101 \_\_\_\_\_ By \_\_\_\_\_

CONFERENCE 117 5:27 PM By HT

CONFERENCE 118 6:25 PM By HT

CONFERENCE 119 6:55 PM By HT

JUNEAU - coded by Lab. Sent to laboratory 4 PM

~~RECORDED~~ Lab. coded by Lab. Sent to laboratory 4 PM

SAN JUAN - coded by Lab. Sent to laboratory 4 PM

REMARKS:

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DATE 10-17-90 BY SP9BJJ/CAL

100 - 4712 - 347



XX 122

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

100-4712

b7c

To: COMMUNICATIONS SECTION.

May 11, 1942

Transmit the following message to:

ALL SAC'S ~~SECRET~~

ATLANTA  
CINCINNATI  
DENVER  
KNOXVILLE  
MEMPHIS  
PORTLAND  
ST. PAUL  
SAVANNAH

*San Diego by Radio*

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE; INTERNAL SECURITY - C. IMPERATIVE EARLY  
ATTENTION BE GIVEN THIS CASE IN ALL DISTRICTS. ALL OFFICES DIRECTED  
TO SUBMIT INITIAL REPORT WITHIN FIFTEEN DAYS.

HOOVER

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*Green to Lab. 4 PM  
5-11-42*

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5 AUG 17 1973

100-4712-34  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
MAY 12 1942

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Egan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gurnea \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Pennington \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAY 23 1942

SENT VIA

~~SECRET~~ RADIO

Per

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100-4762-348

CANCELLED

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X73

Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice  
Washington, D. C.

LBN:NWD

March 20, 1942

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON

On March 12, 1942, Mr. Henry Paynter of the War Productions Board called at my office with reference to the attached clipping covering the recent speech of Donald Nelson. He pointed out that the WPB was very much disturbed since it appeared that the Navy Ordnance was on the verge of breaking relations with the WPB.

By way of background, Paynter advised me confidentially that the full conversion program of the automobile and other industries would not be worked out until August or September, and right now the WPB schedule was only 50 per cent on schedule in production; that the only possible way of making any progress was to speed up industry by putting pressure on for longer hours and fuller use of productive equipment. Further, that Nelson is exerting terrific pressure on industry to speed up and there is some fear that labor might revolt.

The fear that the Navy might break with WPB is based upon the fact that the Navy has indicated they feel that Nelson's pressure might have a tendency toward Sovietizing American industry.

Paynter has reason to believe that the Navy opinion came as a result of [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] pointed out that [REDACTED] is very close to [REDACTED] and that [REDACTED] had apparently persuaded [REDACTED] and in turn [REDACTED] the Navy, that at present the production drive had dangerous ramifications in that Nelson was asking labor to give up its rights.

Paynter wanted to know confidentially [REDACTED] could furnish him any information on [REDACTED]. In turn I told Paynter confidentially that if he would check the records he would [REDACTED]



Get this information and get to the bottom of the whole mess.

Paynter told me that the Timkin Ball Bearing Company was a competitor of S.K.F. [redacted] one of the high officials of the [redacted] that a story is being circulated around Washington that S.K.F. is affiliated with the Swedish Ball Bearing Company which is controlled by Axel Wenner-Gren who also controls the Bofors Company and the Swedish Munition Trust. [redacted] according to Paynter, has no connection whatever with Wenner-Gren.

Paynter also pointed out that [redacted] on the recommendation of [redacted] was employed on a consultant basis with the Navy Department. [redacted] it will be recalled, is [redacted]

Late yesterday I received a telegram from Paynter advising that [redacted] was secretly paid by [redacted] was the chief secret financial backer of the America First Committee and that [redacted] was a secret paid adviser to Mr. Lindbergh, General Wood, and Senator Wheeler. [redacted] according to Paynter, told a former partner that he would fight for Germany under certain conditions. Paynter pointed out he expected more information within the next day or two.

RECOMMENDATION:

Insofar as the Henry Paynter request is concerned no action is necessary on the part of the Bureau, although an Assistant Secretary of the Navy did write a letter to the Bureau requesting information on [redacted] last week. As soon as Paynter returns to Washington I will get all of the details from him, and it is entirely possible that some of his information might be of assistance in the current investigation of the America First Committee.

Respectfully,

*LBN*  
L. B. Nichols

LBN:NHT  
ADDENDUM:

March 21, 1942

Henry Paynter called at the office this morning and advised that he had just returned from New York. While he was there, he talked to [redacted] is now with [redacted] He advised Paynter that the partner of [redacted] is now [redacted]; that [redacted] left

3419 b21

b7c  
[redacted] about a year ago on account of [redacted] connection with the America First Committee. [redacted] further pointed out that in January, 1941 [redacted] tried to raise \$50,000 to open an office in Washington to direct a publicity campaign against the President, Leon Henderson and Harry Hopkins. He did manage to raise \$30,000 of this sum. Among the contributors were [redacted]  
[redacted]

[redacted] has considerable information regarding [redacted] activities and he told Henry Paynter if the FBI came to him he would furnish a complete statement under oath if desired.

[redacted] introduced [redacted] to various individuals in Chicago when the America First Committee was just organized and [redacted] subsequently became an adviser to Lindbergh and Senator Wheeler and counseled Lindbergh on his speeches.

Paynter talked to [redacted] who paid [redacted] through [redacted]. In this connection [redacted] stated that [redacted] did not want payments made in such a way that they could be checked. [redacted] told Paynter he still shares the views of the America First Committee but feels that now we are in the war we must win, or do everything we can to win, although he, [redacted] does not think we will win. [redacted] is now in opposition to [redacted].

Paynter stated a friend of his called [redacted] on the phone; that [redacted] stated [redacted] had stumbled on to a plot "to make industry walk the greased plank." In this connection, [redacted] told Paynter that [redacted] hates Russia, and that prior to the German invasion of Russia, he made the statement that he would fight with Germany should Germany ever fight Russia.

I asked Paynter if they were going to advise any high officials in the Government. He stated he didn't think so.

I feel that we should talk to [redacted] immediately, and certainly if he makes a statement about Bard, the Assistant Secretary of the Navy, I believe the White House should be advised about it.

Respectfully,

✓ ✓ L.B.N.  
341

8891

*10-11-42*

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
CONSPIRACY SECTION

MAR 19 1942

WESTERN UNION

WH28 48 DL

NEWYORK NY 19 449P

J B NICHOLS

CONFIDENTIAL [REDACTED] SECRETLY PAID BY [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] SECRET FINANCIAL BACKER AMERICA FIRST. [REDACTED]

*b7c*

WAS SECRET PAID ADVISER LINDBERGH, WOOD AND WHEELER. [REDACTED]

TOLD FORMER PARTNER HE WOULD FIGHT FOR GERMANY UNDER CERTAIN  
CONDITIONS EXPECT MORE TOMORROW

HANK.

505PM

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R-44

*Memo Mr. Allen  
3-27-42  
JH  
acknowledged 3/24*

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DATE 10-17-90 BY SP8BTJ/cac

*100-4712-349*

# Produce Now Or Be Slaves, Nelson Says

**Blunt Notice Served  
On Management and  
Labor by WPB Chief,  
Fears Public Wrath**

Production Director Donald M. Nelson last night delivered labor and management a blunt warning that they had "a last chance" to cooperate in an intensified drive for munitions manufacture, and that if they failed the "flames of public wrath" would consume the standards of American freedom and force production by totalitarian methods.

Speaking in the second of his series of radio broadcasts to the Nation, Nelson said the way he proposed to increase production was for the Government to set the schedules, supply the materials and make the facilities available, leaving labor and management to "bend every conceivable effort" from that point on.

But if this method fails, he said, in the face of an enemy who uses the "way of bondage, of force," the necessity of having weapons so "transcends all other matters in the public mind, either political or economic," that neither free labor nor the principles of free enterprise by management could survive the resulting public wrath.

## Dramatically Simple

In one of the most dramatic appeals for labor-management cooperation in recent months, Nelson painted a simple picture of "tackling this thing in the traditional American way—getting together, cooperatively, to fight the thing through to a finish."

"I want to say to you and management," Nelson declared, "I want you, say on this today before the American public. This is our last chance to show that a free society can survive and be strong. I want you to realize that it's not the strength which freedom gives to you in a far better job than the slaves of two empires, then freedom dies and that, I may add, includes the freedom of enterprise to which we are looking to deliver these goods." XXX76

The public, Nelson said, is far from complacent and wants production with such "intensity of feeling" that it will make sure it gets it "one way or another."

## Blunt Part-time Use

Indicating the possibilities of the drive he announced last week to raise existing production rates by 25 per cent, Nelson said that if all equipment now involved in war production were used 24 hours a day, seven days a week, "we would practically double the man-hours" now going into military production.

Nelson noted that 20 per cent of American war plants now operate only five or five and one-half days a week. Many plants, he added, close on Sundays. In many others, the second shift uses only 40 per cent of the plant facilities, and the third shifts use only 20 per cent.

This, he concluded, means that thousands of machines needed for

See NELSON, Page 2, Col. 6.

# Nelson Serves Blunt Warning

NELSON, from Page 1.

munitions work now stand idle part or all of every weekend and from 8 to 16 hours every weekday.

In another illustration, the production boss said that if the facilities of all the Nation's 21 aircraft engine and propeller plants were used to the same extent as those of the three with the best records, production could be increased immediately by 25 per cent.

Similarly, if all of America's 183 machine-tool factories operated at the same level of utilization as the top three, machine-tool output would be stepped up by 45 per cent, he said.

Admitting a "slack" production, Nelson insisted there was no single cause, and that blaming any one group—management or "name-calling"—would not help.

Nelson acknowledged that the cooperation he asked between labor and management would not be easy and said he was aware of the "tradition of mutual rivalry and suspicion in some plants vital to our war production."

## Also Must Share Worst

"But," he added, "I was never surer of anything in my life than I am that we either work together for the common good or we shall inevitably share the common evil of defeat."

"We have but little time. That time has been bought at the price of American boys fighting on lonely islands, in steaming jungles; by American boys aboard storm-tossed warships warding off the death that strikes from the clouds and from beneath the wave; by American boys fighting in the best warplanes in the world, planes of which we must make more and more fast. If through selfishness, inertia, indifference or any other cause we let them down, then the American people will damn us forever more," he said.

WASHINGTON POST  
March 11, 1941

10-17-90

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
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Section 552Section 552a☐ (b)(1)☐ (b)(7)(A)☐ (d)(5)☐ (b)(2)☐ (b)(7)(B)☐ (j)(2)☐ (b)(3)☒ (b)(7)(C)☐ (k)(1)☒ (b)(7)(D)☐ (k)(2)☐ (b)(7)(E)☐ (k)(3)☐ (b)(7)(F)☐ (k)(4)☐ (b)(4)☐ (b)(8)☐ (k)(5)☐ (b)(5)☐ (b)(9)☐ (k)(6)☐ (b)(6)☐ (k)(7)

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XX7/

**Federal Bureau of Investigation**  
**United States Department of Justice**  
**Washington, D. C.**  
**March 23, 1942**

- Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Coffey \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Holloman \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. McGuire \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Mumford \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_

LBN:NHT

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON

Call: 8:15 p.m.

*Handwritten: 3/27/42*

*Handwritten: 4/2/42*

Henry Paynter called to advise me concerning [REDACTED]  
 [REDACTED] He does not want to be contacted at his office at all.

[REDACTED] He has had somewhat of a change of heart since then, although not a complete change. He has very strong ideas on witch-hunting and he does not wish to be a party to anything of that sort. He is willing to tell all about America First, including his relations with [REDACTED] but he does not want his name involved in any way.

Paynter further advised that this contact was made for him through a man by the name of [REDACTED]  
 [REDACTED] talked to [REDACTED] on long-distance today and arranged for Paynter to talk to him.

I told Paynter to tell [REDACTED] that we would have an agent contact him within the next few days.

Respectfully,

*Handwritten signature*  
 L. B. Nichols

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5 MAY 22 1942

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100-4712-350

MAY 13 1942

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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100-472-350

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b7c

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

As of possible interest to you, information has recently been received from a confidential source that a disagreement has arisen between the Navy Ordnance Bureau and the War Production Board over acceleration of production. It was stated that this possible rift was based upon the fact that the Navy feels that the program as outlined by Donald K. Nelson is a step toward Sovietizing American industry.

The informant continuing, states it is his belief that [redacted]

[redacted] had persuaded [redacted] of the Navy and others that the production drive had dangerous ramifications. It will be noted that [redacted] presumably upon the recommendation of [redacted] was retained on a consultant basis with the Navy Department. [redacted] you will recall, is [redacted]

With reference to the background of [redacted] in addition to his affiliation with [redacted] it is reported that he was formerly a partner in [redacted]. It is also alleged that [redacted] was secretly paid by [redacted] a leading stock exchange firm, to serve as [redacted] for the America First Committee.

Collateral to the information set forth hereinbefore, it is reported that [redacted] A. T. [redacted], became a partner with [redacted] in January, 1941. [redacted] now holds a responsible position with [redacted]. When [redacted] first joined [redacted] as a partner, it is alleged that they both held strong isolationist views and, as a consequence, became interested in the America First Committee from its outset. [redacted] however, as time went on, gradually drew away from the isolationist viewpoint and at the present time, is not in sympathy with the aims and purpose of the America First Committee.

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SENT FROM D. O.	
TIME	2:10 PM
DATE	MAR 28 1942
BY	[signature]

12 11 12 PM  
282  
[redacted]

## Memorandum for the Attorney General

-2-

At about the time of the origin of the America First Committee, [redacted] allegedly made the acquaintance of [redacted], who arranged to finance him with a view to guiding the activities and policies of the America First Committee. In this regard, he reportedly regularly and continually contacted Charles D. Lindbergh, General Robert H. Tamm, Senator Burton K. Wheeler, and other leaders associated with the America First Committee, although he kept his affiliation carefully concealed.

[redacted] in January, 1941, reportedly proposed to [redacted] and others that he felt it desirable to raise a fund of \$50,000 to open an office in Washington, D. C., for the purpose of magnifying developments and creating publicity which would embarrass the President, Harry Hopkins, Leon Henderson, and others. This Committee would also provide material which could be used against the Administration in the coming Congressional elections. Along these lines, it is reported that [redacted] was successful in raising between \$35,000 and \$40,000 for the establishment of this office through the following individuals:

[redacted]

b7c

Further, [redacted] reportedly with the assistance of [redacted] mentioned above, arranged a meeting in Chicago during January or February, 1941, with leading figures in the America First Committee, for the purpose of soliciting funds to open the above-mentioned office in Washington, D. C. [redacted] on one occasion, expressed his sympathies to the effect that if Russia entered the war against Germany, he would join the German Army and fight for Germany. It was stated to be the opinion of those who should know, that [redacted] was making an effort to sabotage the American war effort, and that he had completely justified his position in his own mind.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_

Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
Coffey \_\_\_\_\_  
Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Tense \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Another individual has reportedly explained the activities of [redacted] in discrediting the production drive as follows, [redacted] has uncovered a plot of a group in Washington to make American industry walk the greased plank." It has also been stated that [redacted] is apparently of the belief that it is his duty to "rescue the country from the New Deal even if we lose to Hitler."

## Memorandum for the Attorney General

-3-

With further reference to [REDACTED] he admittedly has financed the America First movement and has taken an active part in furthering its policies. He also admits close association with [REDACTED] in that work. However, he reportedly has not recently been in contact with him. It is understood also that the business associates of [REDACTED] are somewhat concerned over his attitude toward the present war since he has expressed himself to the effect that the President should have kept the United States out of war and that he expected this country to lose the present conflict. b7c

I thought it desirable to bring this matter to your personal attention since [REDACTED] is now affiliated with the Navy Department, and in view of the allegation by the confidential source mentioned hereinbefore that he was possibly responsible for the rift stated to now exist between the Navy Ordnance Bureau and the War Production Board.

This material is being submitted to you for any action deemed appropriate, and I wish to state for your guidance that I am in no position to vouch for the reliability of the sources of the information supplied.

Respectfully,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

Folson \_\_\_\_\_  
E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Harson \_\_\_\_\_  
Coffey \_\_\_\_\_  
Gendon \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Guire \_\_\_\_\_  
Winn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Case \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

350

XX81

March 21, 1942

Confidential

Mr. Robert W. Horton  
Director, Division of Information  
Office for Emergency Management  
Washington, D. C.

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DATE 10-17-90 BY SP8 BTJ/ccl

Dear Bob:

On my trip to New York, I ran into something quite un-  
related to the purpose of my trip that I thought I ought to tell you  
about.

I may be taking too grave a view of the circumstances,  
but what I ran into seems to me to be a serious, organized threat  
to sabotage our production drive from very questionable quarters.

In short, it would appear that a man now retained by  
the Navy to handle their end of the drive is actually a man who was  
the secretly paid publicity adviser of the America First movement,  
Lindbergh, Wood, Wheeler, and a man who also has secretly solicited  
large sums of money to maintain and operate an office here in Wash-  
ington set up for the sole purpose of embarrassing the Administra-  
tion in its war effort, with a view to the coming Congressional  
elections.

The man is [REDACTED] and he was retained by  
James Forrestal, Under Secretary of the Navy, by letter dated  
March 4, 1942.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] was secretly paid by [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] became a principal financial sup-  
porter of the America First movement.

[REDACTED] While  
I was in New York, I called on several of them for the purpose of

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explaining the nature and urgency of our production drive. As you know, this was not my mission in New York, but I had some time between appointments and thought it would be useful to tell personal acquaintances about the campaign. I told them it seemed to me that our national safety might depend on how much complete, wholehearted cooperation we got from industrial and financial management circles in the next six weeks.

I found that a number of them had the impression that the Management-Labor Committee plan, adopted from English experience, was said to be a "plot to Sovietize America." I explained to them that the origin of this version was the Berlin radio on March 4 (about which we have talked before and about which Mr. Nelson made his speech last week). One friend of mine mentioned the name of [REDACTED] in this connection. I do not wish to embarrass this friend under any circumstances as it so happens that he is a man who does have and will continue to have occasional personal relations with [REDACTED].

However, as a result of the statement, I naturally made some further inquiries.

Among other persons, I talked to [REDACTED] formerly with [REDACTED] has been an acquaintance of mine for some years. He left that firm and became the partner of [REDACTED] in January 1939. [REDACTED] now holds a responsible position [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] told me that when he first went to work with [REDACTED] that he, [REDACTED] both held strong isolationist views. When the America First movement developed, they were interested in it. [REDACTED] made the acquaintance of [REDACTED]

b7c

[REDACTED] arranged to finance [REDACTED] in order to have [REDACTED] guide the America First movement, according to [REDACTED] said that [REDACTED] insisted on concealing the payments that were being made through [REDACTED]

In this connection, [REDACTED] regularly and continually counseled Lindbergh, Wood, Wheeler and other leaders associated with the America First movement, although he kept his connection carefully concealed.

██████████ said that about a year ago ██████████ proposed to ██████████ and to others that it would be a good idea to raise a fund of \$50,000 to open an office in Washington for the purpose of magnifying developments here in order to create publicity which would embarrass the President, Harry Hopkins, Leon Henderson, and others in order to provide material which could be used against the Administration in the coming Congressional elections.

██████████ said that he was beginning to change his views about the America First movement and that this latest plan of ██████████ caused him to decide to break with ██████████. Prior to his break, he said that ██████████ gave him to understand that ██████████ had raised all but about \$10,000 or \$15,000 of the \$50,000 from the following persons:

██████████  
██████████  
██████████  
██████████  
██████████  
██████████

██████████ made it clear that he had no evidence that these men had put up the money, but said that ██████████ had told him that. He said that ██████████ also told him that ██████████ helped him arrange a meeting in Chicago during January or February of 1941 with a number of figures active in America First financing in order to solicit funds for the purpose of maintaining the Washington office to discredit the Roosevelt Administration. b7c

In the course of their discussion about dissolving their partnership, ██████████ said that ██████████ told him that if Russia went to war with Germany, ██████████ would join the German army and fight for Germany.

██████████ told me that he would be willing to tell the above story under oath to the Federal Bureau of Investigation, to Congress, or to any other appropriate Federal questioner.

He said that it was his honest belief that ██████████ was making an effort to sabotage our war effort and that he thought ██████████ had completely justified his position to himself. ██████████ said that he called ██████████

██████████ had explained present activities in discrediting the production drive by saying:

██████████ has uncovered a plot of a group in Washington to make American industry walk the greased plank."



[redacted] said that [redacted] believed it was his duty to "rescue the country from the New Deal even if we lose to Hitler."

I was informed by responsible men in Wall Street that [redacted] has recently been in close communication related matters with former president, Herbert Hoover.

[redacted] admitted to me on a rather personal basis that he had been dealing with [redacted] in this matter, but he was quite surprised when I told him the above connections of [redacted]. Since [redacted] talked quite frankly to me on a personal basis, I should not like to embarrass him in this connection.

I talked to [redacted] in his office at [redacted] and he admitted that he had financed the America First movement and had taken an active part in it and had had close association with [redacted] in that work. [redacted] told me he has recently married and has not recently been in touch with [redacted] and said that he would get in touch with him and request him not to do anything to interfere with the war production effort. [redacted] said that he thought the President could have and should have kept us out of war and that he expected we would lose the war. He did not seem greatly disturbed about this prospect. He did say that he thought no one should interfere with the war effort but did believe that "an opposition must be maintained."

Through mutual friends, I learned that [redacted] other partners are and have been considerably disturbed by his attitude on the war, but do not know what to do about it.

Needless to say, I have launched a good many other inquiries through personal friends.

I realize that I have no direct official concern in all the above, but I do believe I would be remiss in my duty as an American citizen and as a government employe if I did not do everything proper to bring this matter to the attention of the appropriate persons.

I do believe this is a shocking situation in which a man who is the secret and guilty acting adviser of an agency that has persistently performed Hitler's work in this country — and who has secretly solicited money to set up an agency in Washington for the express purpose of embarrassing our war administration at a critical time — should certainly not be permitted to remain a responsible officer of government in a position where he can effectively and apparently has been effectively attempting to sabotage the war effort.

b7c



I do not like to meddle in things which do not directly concern me and I certainly have plenty to do to keep myself busy, but I did think it was my duty to look into this thing within the time and means I had available; I believe it is my duty to acquaint you of these facts; and I earnestly urge you to acquaint Mr. Nelson, Secretary Knox, and the President with these facts. I think also you should pass this information along to Messrs. Hopkins and Henderson since they were also involved. At the very least, I think this entire matter should be thoroughly investigated by the appropriate agency and if the statements made to me are borne out, I believe the proper authorities should seriously consider federal criminal action to determine whether an effort has been made to obstruct our war effort.

Sincerely,

Henry M. Paynter  
Chief, Liaison Branch

TRUE COPY  
DMM

XX67

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT  
OFFICE FOR EMERGENCY MANAGEMENT

WASHINGTON, D.C.

April 2, 1942

Dear Mr. Nichols:

I was unexpectedly out of town Sunday and Monday, which is why I did not phone you Sunday afternoon.

[redacted] informed my friend [redacted] that on reconsideration and that since his story would involve third persons in an unpleasant way, he thought he should tell it only after a specific request, "preferably from the FBI."

I had asked [redacted], who was going to follow through and talk to him in my absence, to let you know the outcome, but he thought that since [redacted] did not show up there was no point in calling you.

As it now stands, we do not propose to do anything more about the matter.

[redacted] told [redacted] that he could offer definite proof that [redacted] did have active connections as advisor for the America First Committee. [redacted] whose first name is [redacted] can be reached any evening at [redacted]. He now works for the leading Wall Street law firm of [redacted] but specifically requested that he not be questioned at the office, but would be agreeable to answering questions, provided you people asked them.

Please let me know if you wish any other information on this subject.

Sincerely yours,

Henry V. Paynter  
Chief, Liaison Branch

FOR DEFENSE



BUY  
UNITED  
STATES  
SAVINGS  
BONDS  
AND STAMPS

Mr. L. B. Nichols  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D.C.

RECORDED

MAY 14 1942

INDEXED

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LBN:NWD

**Federal Bureau of Investigation**  
**United States Department of Justice**  
**Washington, D. C.**  
**April 10, 1942**

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Coffey \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mumford \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON

From time to time Henry Paynter has been furnishing leads as to some of the secret backers of America First. On March 20 in a memorandum I set forth considerable of this material and the Director stated "I think we should get to the bottom of this mess." This information was furnished to the Attorney General. However, it does not appear that any of the individuals were interviewed who had a part in the backing of America First.

I am now in receipt of a letter from Henry Paynter which is attached with reference to [redacted] of New York who was [redacted] for the America First Committee and who has agreed to furnish the Bureau complete details regarding the formation of America First. [redacted] has stated that since his story would involve third persons in an unpleasant way he thought he should tell it only after a specific request, preferably from the FBI. I think our investigation of America First would certainly not be complete unless we do make these interviews.

Respectfully,

*LBN*  
L. B. Nichols

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DATE 10-17-90 BY SP9BJE/csl

*mem to A*  
[redacted]

FOR DEFENSE



BUY  
UNITED STATES  
SAVINGS  
BONDS  
AND STAMPS

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10 MAY 14 1942

U. S.

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JOHN EDGAR HOOVER  
DIRECTOR



LBN:KED

**Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice  
Washington, D. C.**

April 19, 1942

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON

There is attached hereto an item  
pertaining to [REDACTED] who has been working  
as a consultant in the Navy Department.

Henry Paynter has furnished us with  
considerable information, and I am confident  
that he is the source of the information set  
forth in the attached writeup which appeared  
in PL on April 17.

Respectfully,

*L. B. Nichols*  
L. B. Nichols

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FOR DEFENSE



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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
10 MAY 14 1942

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
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Section 552Section 552a☐ (b)(1)☐ (b)(7)(A)☐ (d)(5)☐ (b)(2)☐ (b)(7)(B)☐ (j)(2)☐ (b)(3)☒ (b)(7)(C)☐ (k)(1)☐ (b)(7)(D)☐ (k)(2)☐ (b)(7)(E)☐ (k)(3)☐ (b)(7)(F)☐ (k)(4)☐ (b)(4)☐ (b)(8)☐ (k)(5)☐ (b)(5)☐ (b)(9)☐ (k)(6)☐ (b)(6)☐ (k)(7)

- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
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# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1  
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **CHICAGO, ILLINOIS**

FILE NO. **100-1007**

REPORT MADE AT <b>SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>5-9-42</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>1-20, 21, 24, 27, 28, 29-42</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>[REDACTED] b7c</b>
TITLE <b>AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE</b>			CHARACTER OF CASE <b>INTERNAL SECURITY - C</b>

**SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:**

A notice in the San Diego Union newspaper advised that a Local Unit of the America First Committee was being organized in San Diego on February 10, 1941. This Local Committee operated first under the Chairmanship of Colonel GEORGE W. WISHER and later under JAMES H. ABBEY. Financial difficulties were incurred through the existence of the Committee. Units were organized in neighboring towns under the sponsorship of the San Diego Committee and a Women's Division was also organized but operated under considerable dissension. An attempt was made by members of the Executive Committee to discontinue operations on October 15, 1941, but was over-ruled by other members. [REDACTED] states that there has been no activity in the San Diego Committee since its discontinuation in December of 1941.

*cc - Qui  
G-2  
5/21/42  
[REDACTED]  
b7c*

- P -

**REFERENCE:**

Bureau letter to all Special Agents in Charge, dated March 16, 1942.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 10-17-80 BY SP8BJC/ccl

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <i>[Signature]</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE <i>[Signature]</i>	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES <b>100-4712-354</b>	
COPIES OF THIS REPORT ②-Bureau 2-Chicago 1-DIO, 11th ND 1-G-2, San Diego 1-G-2, San Francisco 2-San Diego		INDEXED	b7c

DETAILS:

AT SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA

This report is being written at the request of the Bureau made by letter dated March 16, 1942, which requested that a review of the files in the Field Division be made for background information and that following that investigation be made to determine the present activity existent.

No active investigation has been conducted, however the following information has been obtained from the files of [REDACTED] and to some extent from memoranda in the Field Office file. b2 b7D

The files [REDACTED] reveal that a newspaper article dated February 10, 1941 announced the organization of a Local Committee of the America First movement in San Diego with offices at 644 San Diego Trust and Savings Bank Building. Appearing as Chairman was Colonel GEORGE W. FISHER of the United States Army Reserve, who is stated to be a politician closely identified with the Republican Party who has in the past been accused of Anti-Semitism. It is noted that [REDACTED] b2 b7D

The first meeting which is known to have been held by this Organization to which the public was invited was held on March 13, 1941 at the Russ Auditorium where Governor LaFOLLETTE appeared. LaFOLLETTE delivered a speech which the files [REDACTED] revealed to have been Anti-British and Anti-Administration. These files further indicated that the Auditorium was only partially filled and that from the applause the impression was gained that the gathering was made up principally of Anti-British individuals as everything that was said in ridicule of Britain was readily applauded while remarks which were pro-American received only moderate applause. b2 b7D

[REDACTED] b7D

It is to be noted that [REDACTED] is the subject of file [REDACTED] b7C in the San Diego Field Office where memoranda indicate that he was against this country's entry into War but that he was not pro-German. The file also indicates that he was in opposition to the ROOSEVELT administration.

X143.

Information from the files [REDACTED] indicated that at the time of this meeting the organization in San Diego had 416 members. b2 b7D

The next meeting revealed was held on May 22, 1941, at which time Colonel FISHER stated that it was his intention to resign from Chairmanship on May 28th as he had been recalled to active duty in the United States Army. The thought was expressed by members of the Committee that the next Chairman should be an individual with a military title or a businessman of consequence with a good reputation.

The files [REDACTED] revealed that JAMES B. ABBEY was elected to the position of Chairman effective July 1, 1941. ABBEY was formerly District Attorney in San Diego.

On June 6, 1941 another public meeting was held at the Lincoln School, at which time Dr. RICHARD F. CARLYLE delivered the address. The files [REDACTED] revealed that this speech was decidedly Anti-Administration and that the statement was made by CARLYLE that the Government was crooked and was really in the hands of criminals. He criticized the infirmities of the President's Cabinet. That file also indicated that those in the audience had stated that there were approximately 340 persons present, most of whom were judged to be past 45 years of age and more than half of whom were thought to be of German descent. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] In the front of the building [REDACTED] a number of Communists b2 were distributing pamphlets advertising a peace mobilization meeting to be held on the following Friday. b7D

Information from this informant's files revealed that the Committee in San Diego was having some difficulty in obtaining adequate finances to carry on its operations and that on June 10, 1941 had circularized all of its members and those on its mailing lists offering 100 "Defend America" seals at \$1.00. [REDACTED]





b7D

The next large meeting to be held in Southern California was on June 20, 1941 at which time Colonel LINDBERGH addressed members of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE at Los Angeles. Active solicitation was made in San Diego to obtain a sufficient number of reservations to charter a special train from this city but only 104 reservations were gotten. Of these only 44 actually traveled to Los Angeles by train although approximately 150 others were reported to have driven there.

The expense involved in preparing posters and in the effort to obtain a large number to attend this meeting caused the Committee to have a deficit of approximately \$200.00. It is reported by the informant's files that at this meeting the Socialist Labor Party and members of other groups distributed circulars. On this trip this informant states that many derogatory remarks were made concerning President ROOSEVELT and his Cabinet.

In an attempt to improve finances, a meeting of the Budget Committee was held on July 1, 1941 and it was approved that dues of \$1.00 per month would be charged for each member who could possibly afford to pay that sum. Previously the organization had been operating chiefly on a contribution and membership fee basis.

In July of 1941 the files [redacted] re-  
vealed that a colored section of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE was organized in San Diego. Those members belonging to that organization were very mild in their ideas and favored aid to England, although they were apparently not anxious to send any men to foreign countries for purposes of war. The files of this informant failed to reveal any activity on the part of this colored section.

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On August 1, 1941, at a meeting of the members of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, it was announced that a Women's Group was to be organized with the first meeting to be held on August 7th. At the first meeting of that Group there were 18 members present and by August 19, 1941, the membership had grown to 38. Also in the month of August, chapters under the supervision of the San Diego Committee became active in La Mesa, Chula Vista and Imperial Valley, California. Each of these had its Local Chairman, but operations were conducted through a Headquarters Office in San Diego under the direct supervision of the San Diego Committee. Membership in these groups was not large

XYUS

there being approximately 50 in La Mesa and Cmla Vista and in the vicinity of 100 members in Imperial Valley.

On October 3, 1941 a large public meeting was held at the Ford Bowl in Balboa Park, San Diego, at which time Senator HERTRAM K. WHEELER was the feature speaker. The files [REDACTED] revealed that there was an attendance of approximately 5,000 people and that a large percentage of those attending appeared to be members of the Industrial Class. It was estimated that approximately 75 men in uniform were also in attendance. These files further indicated that there was a good representation of local Communists and Bund members present. There was stated to be no enthusiastic applause and it was also commented that literature was placed on all cars parked within the vicinity of the auditorium by those alleged to be Communists announcing a speech to be delivered in the following week entitled, "Foe of Appeasers." At this meeting FRANK O'FARRELL is stated to have said that the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE telephone wires had been tapped and that membership rolls had been checked for Communists by the FBI. b2 b7D

The following morning on October 4, 1941, there appeared in the San Diego Union and reappeared in the afternoon paper the following quotation, "Frank O'Farrell, of the America First Committee, under auspices of which Wheeler spoke, charged the Federal Bureau of Investigation had 'tapped' our wires and looked over our membership lists looking for Communists."

Special Agent in Charge HAROLD NATHAN contacted [REDACTED] who stated that as far as he knew no such activities had been participated in by the San Diego Office of the Bureau and that he himself did not hear the statement made by O'FARRELL. He stated that he regretted that O'FARRELL had made that statement. b7C

Special Agent in Charge HAROLD NATHAN also contacted [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b7C  
b7D

The matter was brought to the attention of the Editor-in-Chief of the San Diego papers, Mr. E. T. AUSTIN, by Special Agent in Charge NATHAN and the morning issue for October 7, 1941 of the San Diego Union covered a statement that the FBI had not been active whatsoever in that direction.

An apology was made by General WOOD who was a National Leader of the organization.

[REDACTED]

b7C

On November 10, 1941 a public meeting was held at the ROOSEVELT Junior High School and was conducted entirely by the Women of the San Diego America First Committee. The speaker was Dr. HYMAN LISCHNER who is of Jewish descent. The attendance which amounted to 633 individuals was indicated by the files [REDACTED] to have been made up principally of those of German extraction. A contribution of \$100.00 was taken up in the form of a collection.

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It was noted that the files [REDACTED] indicate that considerable dissension arose among members of the Women's Division of the America First Committee and that meetings frequently were accompanied by personal arguments among those present with regard to individual beliefs.

On November 22, 1941, 100 local members of the America First Committee were addressed by Judge EDWARD J. KELLEY, who at that time stated that he was not a member of the Committee. It is noted, however, that the files [REDACTED] indicate that KELLEY was one of the early members of the Committee. KELLEY'S speech indicated an Anti-British inclination as revealed by the files of this informant and stated that Britain "was a real disturber of the World for generations past." Some disorder was noted at this meeting and the audience had to be brought to order by those on the platform.

[REDACTED] was consulted on May 1, 1942, as to any information that he may have of activities of this Committee at the present time and it was stated by him that there is no activity whatsoever existent. He said that his informants had been very closely connected with the Committee and would be aware the moment that any activity began. It was further stated that [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] will be obtained and will be supplied to this Field Office.

- PENDING -

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UNDEVELOPED LEAD

THE SAN DIEGO FIELD DIVISION

At San Diego, California, will obtain the [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] which will be available from [REDACTED]  
in the near future.

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b7D

-PENDING-

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **CHICAGO, ILLINOIS**

FILE NO. 100-1036

REPORT MADE AT <b>NORFOLK, VIRGINIA</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>5-12-42</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>4-3,4,10,21-42</b>	REPORT MADE BY [REDACTED] <b>b7c</b>
TITLE <b>AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE</b>			CHARACTER OF CASE <b>INTERNAL SECURITY - G</b>
<p><b>SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:</b> Investigation at Norfolk reflects that the America First Committee was unsuccessful in effecting an organization. The membership was negligent. On about November 25, 1941 an attempt was unsuccessfully made to reorganize.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">- P -</p> <p><b>REFERENCE:</b> Bureau letter dated March 16, 1942.</p> <p><b>DETAILS:</b> <u>AT NORFOLK, VIRGINIA</u></p> <p>[REDACTED] <b>b7c b7D</b></p> <p>advised the writer that he did not have any knowledge concerning the organization of the America First Committee and that it apparently had not made any inroads in this area due to the fact that Norfolk is well known as a service town and organizations of a pacifist nature were not well received.</p> <p>[REDACTED] advised that the America First Committee had not been very successful in the Norfolk area but had attempted to organize and apparently had not obtained worthwhile results. He mentioned that [REDACTED] was active in this organization. He stated that [REDACTED]</p> <p>[REDACTED] advised that he has a slight knowledge of [REDACTED] and that he recalls his activities to be particularly active along prohibition interests. He stated</p>			
APPROVED AND FORWARDED [Signature] <b>5-11-42</b>		SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	
COPIES OF THIS REPORT 5-Bureau 2-Chicago 1-Boston(Info) 3-Norfolk		<p style="text-align: center;">DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES</p> <p style="font-size: 2em; text-align: center;">COPY</p> <p style="font-size: 1.5em; text-align: center;">100-4712-355</p> <p style="font-size: 1.5em; text-align: center;">MAY 14 1942</p> <p style="text-align: right;">RECORDED &amp; INDEXED [REDACTED] <b>b7c</b></p>	

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XX22

100-1036

that he had never had any knowledge that the America First Committee was a working organization in the Norfolk area and believes that if it had obtained any degree of success it would have come to his attention. [REDACTED]

b7c  
b7D

He stated that a meeting was held at 8 p.m. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] informed that he took an interest in their meeting in that he did not know its purpose but stated that he did not hear anything subversive and that as far as he was concerned it was not very much in the nature of a meeting as the place was not filled and apparently no activity was going on.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

A perusal of the morgue records at the Norfolk Virginian Pilot reflected that on September 13, 1941 an article was printed entitled "DUNNING Warns Against War." The article reflected that acting chairman A. J. DUNNING, JR. told members of the local America First Committee on September 12, 1941 at Birtcherd's Dairy that they should make their voices heard against this effort to entangle us in the eternal bickerings and strife and murder in old world affairs. It is noted that [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Norfolk, Virginia advised that he was in his office on November 25, 1941 and [REDACTED] came in seeking directions. He advised that [REDACTED] gave his address as [REDACTED] and stated to him that he had an appointment with members of the America First League and was desirous of contacting a dentist at Newport News.

100-1036

With the assistance of [REDACTED] called Newport News, [REDACTED] which is the office of [REDACTED] Street, Newport News, Virginia, and shortly thereafter [REDACTED] left and went to Newport News, Virginia. [REDACTED] advised that in his conversation it was noted that [REDACTED] exhibited an attitude that was very much anti-British and admitted that he was very anxious to foster an advanced cause of the America First Committee as he believed it essential to the national welfare. [REDACTED] stated that he disagreed with him and was rather surprised to note that a member of the clergy should have such an outspoken attitude.

In view of the fact that the America First Committee has been unsuccessful in the city of Norfolk it was not deemed advisable to contact [REDACTED] in order to ascertain from him any information regarding its activities since persons contacted could not vouch for his reliability and indicated that he was one who sought publicity for his own means.

For the information of the Boston Field Division a copy of this report is set out as it is noted that [REDACTED] stated he was associated with [REDACTED]

- PENDING -

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100-1036

UNDEVELOPED LEADS

NORFOLK FIELD DIVISION

AT NEWPORT NEWS, VIRGINIA

Will conduct a very discreet investigation to determine whether the set up by the America First Committee in the Newport News area is now being used by foreign interests or by individuals cooperating with foreign interests in such a manner as will interfere with national defense effort.

It is suggested that approaches to persons who were formerly connected with the committee should be made only after it has reasonably been ascertained that they are not part of any underground organization now functioning.

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# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1  
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **Chicago, Illinois**

FILE NO. **100-1924**

REPORT MADE AT <b>Seattle, Washington</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>5-11-42</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>4/12 - 5/8/42</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>[REDACTED] b7c</b>
TITLE <b>AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE</b>			CHARACTER OF CASE <b>Internal Security - G</b>

**SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:**

List of officers, sponsors of meetings and members set out. [REDACTED] reports that organization in the state of Washington has disbanded and all papers, etc. have been returned to Chicago. No evidence of foreign interests or operating underground.

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b7D

R.U.C.

10-17-90  
SP8BTJ/CAL  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 9-20-85 BY SP7mas  
#241113

REFERENCE: Bureau letter dated March 16, 1942.

**DETAILS:**

A review of the files of the Seattle Field Office reflects the following persons to have been affiliated with the America First Committee and also other information regarding the activities of these individuals.

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The leaders of the America First Committee in the state of Washington are as follows:

FRED H. ~~X~~SURRY, Regional Director.

MARGARET ~~X~~KALBERG, executive secretary of the Seattle Chapter of the America First Committee, ~~REDACTED~~ Seattle, Washington,

EARL ~~X~~KENNEL, vice-chairman of the Seattle Chapter of the America First Committee. ~~REDACTED~~

MARY ~~X~~KNOX, president of the Northwest America First Women's Committee. b7c

Miss B. N. ~~X~~McCLOUD, Secretary of the Northwest America First Women's Committee.

Mrs. A. E. ~~X~~JACOBS, ~~REDACTED~~, Spokane, Washington, regional director of the America First Committee. ~~REDACTED~~

Dr. H. H. ~~X~~SCHLOMER, Inland Empire organizer for the America First Committee. ~~REDACTED~~

Miss RHEBA ~~X~~HURN, organizer of the America First Committee at Spokane, ~~REDACTED~~

yy3

Mrs. ELIZABETH BLATTNER, [REDACTED], is director of the America First Committee of Washington.

Mrs. ROBERT LEA, [REDACTED] Tacoma, Washington, is director of the America First Committee. b7c

OTTO A. CASE is director of the America First Committee and had been named to the executive committee. Case resides at [REDACTED]. He is Washington state treasurer and state chairman of the America First Committee.

The biggest function of the America First Committee in this area was held on April 18, 1941, at Spokane, Washington, at which time Senator BURTON K. WHEELER of Montana addressed the organization and in his speech criticized the present American foreign policy. The functionaries of the meeting were as follows:

EDWARD M. CONNELLY, presided at the meeting. He has recently been appointed U. S. Attorney at Spokane.

REV. C. E. HATERIUS, pastor of the Salem Lutheran Church, delivered the invocation.

REV. FATHER JAMES V. LINDEN, Gonzaga University, introduced Senator WHEELER.

MRS. W. B. MASECAR led the salute to the flag.


The following persons sponsored the meeting:

NELLE C. ADAMS  
MRS. PEARL AORES  
MRS. H. H. BECKLEY  
H. H. BECKLEY  
EWING P. DAVIS  
MRS. EWING P. DAVIS  
E. B. DOBBIE  
MAGDALINE DOOSE  
REV. EDWARD G. ERNST, [REDACTED] b7c

MRS. GERTRUDE FALK  
N. C. FINROW  
CHARLES FREBURG  
MRS. CHARLES FREBURG  
MRS. JANE GABLE

Y Y H


HARRY HARDER  
REV. AND MRS. C. E. HATERIUS  
REV. U. F. HANK  
RAY HERRLING  
LOWELL E. JACOBS  
FRANKLIN JACOBS  
EMMA ATKINS JACOBS  
MISS MARY KEATING  
MRS. LOIS KEELER  
MRS. LOUISE LARKIN  
BETTY LEGRANT  
G. R. LINDEEN  
MAURICE LINDHOLM  
DR. MARY MacMILLAN RODNEY  
MRS. DORA McGARRY  
EARL MORRISON  
HAROLD PEDERSON  
HELEN R. PETERSON  
HENRY A. PIERCE, JR.  
EDWARD J. KING  
DR. FRANCES E. ROSE  
LUCIE R. ROYCE  
J. SANDERS  
H. O. SCHUMAKER,



FRANK P. WEAVER  
RUTH WEST  
FRED LEE WOOD

The following were also reported as members of the American First Committee:

EUGENE BRUNNER, reported to be organizer of America First Committee  
V. P. PRINGEE,



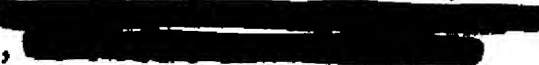
GEORGE ELMER BROWN, chairman at meeting at which RUSH HOLT spoke  
Leader of Steuben Society at Spokane,



ROYE E. LOWE

JOSEPH E. HURLEY, Spokane legislator who introduced RUSH HOLT  
at meeting on November 23, 1941

ORVILLE BODDY,  
MARGARET STRONG,  
DR. JACOB THORKLESON



475  
[REDACTED] was contacted by Special Agent in Charge H. B. Fitch and he subsequently advised this office that he had information from two very reliable sources that the America First Committee had folded up after Pearl Harbor and that all of the papers of every kind and nature under the control of the state organization had been shipped back to Chicago. b2 b7D

The Bureau will be kept immediately advised by the Seattle Field Office as to any information received by this office that the subject organization is under domination of foreign interests inimical to the welfare of the United States or is still operating in this area.

REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN

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# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

This case originated at CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

N.Y. File No. 100-8887

Report made at

Date

Period

Report made by

NEW YORK, NEW YORK

5/13/42

4-7-11, 13, 15, 17, 18, 21-25/42

Title

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

Character of case

INTERNAL SECURITY - R

## SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

Apparently no united effort being made by extremist element of dissolved America First Committee, N.Y.C. since its dissolution. New organizations created and supported by members of such element include Americans for Peace headed by Horace J. Haase; Gifts for Our Boys headed by Mrs. Alice Holmes; Women United headed by Mr. and Mrs. Charles Nixdorf and Beatrice Brown; Salute Our Men, Inc. headed by Mrs. Esther Bennett and Post War World Council headed by Mrs. Marie D. Hilliard. All such organizations and leaders apparently attempting to gain support of former isolationists and anti-administration elements of America First Committee and majority advocate a negotiated peace. Indications that some possibly possess partial files of New York America First Committee. Foreign elements within such organizations as yet undetermined. However, such officers of New York America First Committee, including John T. Flynn, chairman; Edwin S. Webster, Jr., secretary; H. Dudley Swim, treasurer; and Robert L. Elias, are apparently refraining from open affiliation with, or support of, new organizations. Americans for Peace publishing weekly news letter and chapter of such reported being formed St. Louis, Mo.; Philadelphia, Pa.; Kenton, Ohio; Indianapolis, Indiana; Buffalo, N.Y.

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11/18/81 BY SP8BJJ/RBG

10-17-90 SP8BJJ/RBG

## REFERENCE:

Letter from Bureau to all field offices dated 3/16/42.

Letter from Bureau to N.Y. Field office dated 3/18/42, Bureau file 100-4712.

Approved and  
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- 5-Bureau
- 2-Chicago
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- 2-St. Louis
- 1-Capt. R.C. MacFarland, ONI
- 1-Col. S.V. Constant, G-2
- 5-New York
- CC - ONI - G-2

100-4712-358

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EX-11

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DETAILS:

At New York City

In view of Bureau reference letters indicating that efforts were possibly being made to keep the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE alive and active and the possibility that such might be used in a manner detrimental to the best interests of the United States, a review of miscellaneous information on file in the New York Field office and concerning the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE disclosed the following information:

Under date of December 12, 1941, [REDACTED] whose identity is known to the Bureau, in a memorandum to the New York office reported as follows: "A highly confidential source has reported that E. V. GREGORY, head of the speakers' bureau of the subject committee, presented a teletype message that he had received from General WOOD which read 'Don't give up the sponge. The America First Committee will continue on a changed platform against Communism, totalitarianism, etc.'".

A memorandum from the same source dated January 9, 1942 reported that, "Since the outbreak of the war many committees were started by America First members and their affiliates of the 'Christian Front'. The official purpose of these committees is to provide entertainment and social facilities to soldiers and sailors and to do a lot of flag waving. But in many cases the under-lying motive is to establish contacts with the Army or Navy for propaganda purposes, impressing upon the man that they will only fight and die so that Communism may flourish here".

"These committees are particularly active in the Queens and Brooklyn sections of New York City and the driving personalities behind them are the same that used the America First Committee for anti-administration and anti-Jewish propaganda prior to the outbreak of hostilities".

Under date of January 12, 1942 a memorandum from the same source stated as follows: "At the recent meeting of the executive board in Chicago, General Wood had a fight on his hands before he could put through a resolution dissolving the America First organization. The New York crowd favoring LINDBERGH wanted to keep it alive because the organization was going into politics and they had spent \$34,000 for advance publicity books, etc., which is now almost a total loss. However, the New York crowd which is also connected with a good many Catholics in the New York-New England area, has decided to carry on. They are trying to think up some special patriotic outfit under which they are going to work. No matter what the outfit's name is, the same mess of pro-Nazis, Coughlinites, etc. will be connected with same."

Attention is also called to the reports forwarded by the Bureau to the New York Field office secured from a confidential source which report the meeting held at the home of Mr. EDWIN S. WEBSTER, JR., Beekman Place, New York City, former New York secretary of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, and attended by approximately 50 persons formerly active in the New York organization. It should particularly be noted that following the speech by COLONEL CHARLES A. LINDBERGH at such meeting, in which Lindbergh stated that America First can not be active at the present time, Mr. HORACE J. HAASE voiced his sentiments for keeping the organization active in spite of the necessity for the leaders of the AMERICA FIRST, such as General WOOD and EDWIN S. WEBSTER, JR., to remain quiet. At such time HAASE is reported as having indicated his intentions of keeping the organization active in a quiet way and of offering to maintain the organization files and records.

Also contained in the copies of such confidential reports is a report of a similar and smaller meeting at the apartment of MRS. MARIE D. HILLIARD, 7 Park Avenue, New York City, on December 17, 1941, the attendance of which was largely composed of former active members in the New York organization of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE. It is reported that HORACE J. HAASE spoke at this meeting concerning the needs for a new organization and it is reported that a desire for such was indicated by such former members as MRS. HILLIARD; Mr. CULLEN, former chairman of the Bay Ridge unit of the America First Committee; MRS. MARJORIE LANE, now connected with Women United; AMOS R. E. PINCHOT; EDWIN S. WEBSTER, JR.; and JOHN G. SCOTT, editor of "Money", who it was reported would print the advertising for the new organization in his paper "Money" and would mail out 10,000 copies.

A copy of a confidential report dated January 17, 1942 from the same source and transmitted to the New York Field office by the Bureau stated in substance that the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE is going to be kept intact and it is believed that the FORD interests in Detroit, Michigan are going to finance it in a careful manner; that the organization is not going to mix into the war very much but will be kept intact for the purpose of carrying on the hate campaign against President Roosevelt. It was further reported that GERALD L. K. SMITH of Detroit, Michigan has secretly been on the FORD payroll for at least 3 years and that the Central Control Commission of the Communist Party believes that GERALD SMITH has the complete mailing lists of the AMERICA FIRST group.

The New York files also contain a memorandum from Confidential Informant A dated January 24, 1942 captioned AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE; MISS MARJORIE KENNEDY, 1711 Poplar Avenue, Bronx, N.Y.; and which states as follows: "On January 22, 1942 a meeting and dinner of former workers of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE was held at JOE KING'S RATESKELLER located

on Third Avenue and 17th Street, New York City. Miss Kennedy was in charge of this dinner committee and mailed out notices. She was a stenographer with the NO FOREIGN WAR COMMITTEE and later with the America First Committee. She is described as a rabble rousing type of person. ————".

A confidential memorandum from the same source under date of January 31, 1942 states as follows: "It is believed that the AMERICA FIRST group in the East under the leadership of the COUGHLIN followers are soon to come out with a new outfit. When they do, JOHN L. LEWIS will quietly approve. LEWIS has been receiving praise from the Coughlin followers recently and this praise is being used in almost every section of the country. According to reports from the CIO at Washington the group has carefully set up the country into districts. They have revised all the mailing lists and in addition they have made arrangements with other groups which can be classified as pro-Nazi for an exchange of mailing lists. This arrangement is now in effect and many of these pro-Nazi groups are circularizing so called patriots with the sale of literature, etc. These lists are not being carelessly handled because of the fear that some may demand a government investigation of their activities. However, it has been learned that the AMERICA FIRST and their so called supporting groups have now a secret mailing list of 8,476,000 names of people in this country. A vast number of this list are on the West Coast and lately a great many of the foreign speaking groups have been circularized. There is no doubt but that certain sections of names from the major lists have been used in sending out this mail."

Under date of February 9, 1942, [REDACTED] in a memorandum furnished the following information to the New York Field office: "An AMERICA FIRST underground organization under the leadership of CHARLES A. LINDBERGH is being formed. The first evidence of this is two secret meetings which were held at the homes of persons high in the AMERICA FIRST organization on December 17, 1941. More than 50 persons were present at 10 Beekman Place, New York, home of AMERICA FIRST leader EDWIN S. WEBSTER, JR., to hear CHARLES A. LINDBERGH counsel the continuation of the AMERICA FIRST type of organization. The second meeting, held a few days before in an apartment on lower Park Avenue, was sponsored by a woman who was one of the New York heads of WOMEN UNITED, America First auxiliary. It is understood that these are the first of a series of house parties which will keep alive America First contacts."

"The meeting at the Beekman Place address was a dinner given for the members of the speakers' bureau of America First. Those present were the minor subleaders; borough heads, district heads and leading speakers ————. The second meeting held at the lower Park Avenue address discussed the formation of a new organization with a more open anti-Semitic

program than the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE utilized. Present at the meeting were the persons active in WOMEN UNITED, an America First auxiliary, and an editor of a small financial magazine which has spread the of Zion. Undoubtedly the last portion of the memorandum quoted above refers to JOHN G. SCOTT, editor of "Money", 1165 Broadway, New York City.

Under date of February 25, 1942 the Boston Field office in a letter to the Bureau and under the caption, GIFTS FOR OUR BOYS, AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE GROUP; INTERNAL SECURITY with a copy for New York advised as follows: "From a reliable and confidential source it has been reported that literature and requests for contributions are being distributed under the title of 'GOB'. The letterhead lists the office as being 150 Broadway, New York City. The Gifts Headquarters is room 114, Plaza Hotel, New York City. Literature states that if we must have a war we must win the war and claims that the intent and purposes of the group is to boost the morale of our men. It is suggested that these gifts be not less than the amount of \$500. Active are MRS. IDA M. COOPER, Mr. and Mrs. HOLMES, JOHN BURKE, THELMA FERRICK, MRS. De LUCA, Mr. and Mrs. AMOS PINCHOT, Mr. and Mrs. NIXDORF and ANDREW SMITH, who is Bronx chairman of the America First Committee, and MRS. BENNETT of the No Foreign War Committee. These names will be recognized as active America Firsters which proves that this organization is not disbanded but intends to operate in an underground fashion."

In an effort to ascertain more definitely the nature and extent of the alleged present activities of the America First Committee in New York City, agent contacted [redacted] Informant at such time stated that he has not been in close contact with any of the members of the organization or reliable informants concerning same for some time. However, he stated that it had been his observation that numerous of the more radical members of the original America First Committee in New York City were carrying on their anti-war, anti-administration agitation through other new organizations. He stated that he believes the most active of these newly formed groups are AMERICANS FOR PEACE at 1165 Broadway, New York City, which has recently been organized by HORACE J. HAASE, who was formerly quite active in America First Committee particularly in the Brooklyn section of New York City; and WOMEN UNITED under the leadership of Mr. and Mrs. CHARLES NIXDORF and BEATRICE BROWN, 54 West 46th Street, New York City. He exhibited to agent a copy of a mimeographed statement recently circulated by HORACE J. HAASE and AMERICANS FOR PEACE and bearing Haase's name as acting executive chairman of such organization, such statement setting forth the principles and aims of the new organization, informant remarking that he believed such statement indicated that this group

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is presently acting for the America First interests in New York City. Informant made such statement available to agent and photostatic copies of such are being retained in this file in the New York office and also will be furnished the Bureau and interested offices.

At the time of this interview [redacted] stated that he believes considerable information pertaining to any present activities of the America First Committee in New York City could be obtained from [redacted]

[redacted] are mentioned by the Bureau in its memorandum concerning the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE forwarded with reference letter of March 16, 1942. However, inasmuch as the files of the New York Field office contain considerable questionable information concerning [redacted] it is not deemed advisable to make contact with him at this time. Informant advised that he would attempt to discreetly secure any information available concerning the present activities of the American First group which he would promptly furnish to the New York Field office.

[redacted] upon interview by agent advised that [redacted]. He stated that during the summer of 1941 it had become apparent to him that the organization membership was becoming largely foreign and possibly subversive. He stated that he had maintained some doubts concerning the organizers and officers but because of his belief in the basic isolation principles of the America First Committee he had continued working with it although from time to time he would furnish information concerning questionable members to the New York Field office. He further stated that during the summer of 1941 definite friction had developed in the New York organization because of the radical tendencies of some of the officers, principally upon the anti-Semitic issue, and that a radical group headed by EDWIN S. WEBSTER, Jr., secretary, who is himself violently anti-Semitic, and a group which in his opinion is more conservative although called radical by its opposition headed by JOHN T. FLYNN, chairman, were distinctly divided and friction was prevalent principally because of the anti-Semitic issue. He stated that it was his understanding that because of the differences and friction in the New York organization, [redacted]

[redacted] had been sent from Chicago to New York City to attempt to effect a reconciliation and the smooth operation of the New York organization. According to informant, [redacted] main job in the New York organization had been in this line.

Concerning the actions of the New York organization following the opening of hostilities on December 7, 1941, [REDACTED] advised that upon December 8, 1941 representatives from all chapters had congregated at the Committee headquarters, 515 Madison Avenue, New York City. VINCENT GLAQUINTO [REDACTED] the chairman of the Bronx chapter, was selected as spokesman for the group and following a conference with JOHN T. FLYNN, AMOS R. E. PINCHOT, EDWIN S. WEBSTER, Jr., and EVELYN PALMER, all members of the New York executive committee, GLAQUINTO advised the chapter representatives that an executive committee meeting with all members present would be held at headquarters that afternoon, December 8. At the afternoon executive committee meeting, it was decided unanimously (after telephonic communications with national headquarters in Chicago) to suspend all further activities pending a final decision of the national committee at an executive meeting to be held in Chicago on December 12. Pending this meeting, only county headquarters were to remain open, no more literature was to be distributed and all posters were to be taken down. b2 b7D b7C

On December 13, JOHN T. FLYNN returned from the national executive committee meeting in Chicago and immediately sent a report to chapter chairmen advising them of the decisions of the national committee, which were briefly as follows:

1. Official dissolution of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE in the interests of a national unity.
2. The forwarding of all records and money on hand to the national executive committee in Chicago for a final accounting and disposal.
3. The destruction of all signs, posters, literature, letterheads, etc. and discontinuance of all activities under America First auspices.
4. The payment of two weeks advance salary to all employees, terminating their employment on December 27, 1941.

[REDACTED] continued, saying that JOHN T. FLYNN had carried out the mandates of the national committee. He had stationed a guard from the Holmes Protective Agency at the New York headquarters to insure the safety of the records until they could be delivered to Chicago. The employees were paid and all offices were closed. The general consensus of opinion of the organization was that although they did not want war the best thing was to pitch in and help win the war in the interests of national unity. However, informant stated that the extremist or radical element referred to previously has, in his opinion, constantly refused to recognize the mandate of the national executive committee. He stated that the first sign of an attempt to carry on activities against the administration and the war was the party held for the former street speakers of America First at the home of EDWIN S. WEBSTER, JR. on December b2 b7D



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17, 1941 at which LINDBERGH spoke, which meeting was referred to previously in this report.

Immediately following this meeting, former AMERICA FIRST members were quietly sounded out as to their opinions and feelings for continuing AMERICA FIRST activities under an entirely new setup. The spark plug of this movement is MRS. ALICE HOLMES, formerly in charge of the America First chapter office at 67 Liberty Street, New York City, and whose husband has been a stock broker in New York City for many years. MRS. HOLMES is violently anti-Semitic and has openly boasted that she can raise unlimited funds. Informant stated that she is known to have displayed checks totaling several thousands of dollars the morning after LINDBERGH's speech at Des Moines, Iowa in September of 1941. Informant further stated that although the meeting of AMERICA FIRST personnel which was held at JOE KING'S RATHSKELLER, Third Avenue and 17th Street, New York City, on January 22, 1942 and which has been referred to previously in this report, was sponsored by MARJORIE KENNEDY, who worked on the filing system at America First headquarters, New York City, he stated that Miss KENNEDY has neither the brains nor the initiative to formulate or control group activities. He said that it is known that MRS. HOLMES was responsible for such meeting and is one of the key persons in the present activities of keeping the America First group alive. He advised that MRS. HOLMES is sponsoring a new organization entitled, "Gifts For Our Boys" which is situated at 150 Broadway, New York City, and that the meeting on January 22 referred to above was the first open attempt to reorganize the old America First members.

Although more than 100 invitations were sent out for this meeting, only 66 attended, among whom were MRS. HOLMES; KATHERINE LARIN; MARY NORTON, sponsor of the Impeach Roosevelt Movement; ANDREW SMITH, secretary and treasurer of the Bronx county chapter of America First; TRUMAN BLACKWOOD, [REDACTED] b7c

[REDACTED] HOPE SKINNER; and FRANCES ZIMMER, all of the above mentioned individuals having been active participants in America First work in New York City. It was agreed at this party that similar parties would be held for the express purpose of reorganizing America First members but it is significant that it was also agreed not to mention AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE but to organize an ostensibly new organization.

MRS. ROSE De LUCCA, former secretary of Queens County America First, is working with MRS. HOLMES and ANDREW SMITH to organize the new group. [REDACTED] stated that MRS. De LUCCA is not anti-Semitic and has an abundance of energy and makes friends easily but stated that he believes she is impressed by the meetings and because of the fact that she has a son in the army and because she had been to dinners with several b2 b7c

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prominent people she is easy prey for any scheme similar to that of the new organization.

Informant stated that a second meeting was held on January 23, 1942 at the Forest Hills Inn, Forest Hills, Long Island, invitations having been sent out by MRS. ARTHUR G. JUST, former chairwoman of the Elmhurst unit of the Queens chapter of America First Committee. He stated that approximately 80 people attended this meeting and he believed it significant that no collection of funds or solicitations were made to help defray the reunion expenses, indicating in his mind that some of the original financiers of the America First group in New York are behind the new organization. [REDACTED] stated that at this meeting Mr. HENRY CHRIST, former chairman of Queens County America First, spoke against forming any new organizations and expressed the hope that those members would do all in their power to aid the war effort. However, informant expressed his opinion that Mr. CHRIST's sincerity along such lines is doubtful and he does not believe contact with him in this investigation would be advisable. He stated that none of the parties present who were at the former meeting on January 22 at JOE KING'S RATTSKELLER made their presence known although it is probable that more than a few were present. He stated that he believes that unless many of the former members of the America First Committee are completely fooled by this small group of extremists who are trying to promote disunity under the guise of helping the boys in the Service, the new organization, GIFTS FOR OUR BOYS, will be limited to the same small extremist element which created the organization. b2 b7D

It should be noted that according to Informant, following the official order of dissolution of the America First Committee, all funds and membership records were to be forwarded to Chicago headquarters for final accounting, distribution and disposal. However, he stated that he is sure some of the individual chapters had retained most of their membership files and that these are now in the possession of individuals. As an example of this, he stated that he knows that [REDACTED] b7C

[REDACTED] still maintained in her personal possession most of the membership records of that unit. He stated that he believes he has access to those records and has no doubts that [REDACTED], who he advised seems now to be mainly interested in CHRISTIAN FRONT activities, is making them available to other organizations.

He also stated that the directors of the New York America First organization had maintained a special file record of all contributors of \$500 and over which, he stated, was always closely guarded and supervised.



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Following the dissolution of the organization, according to [REDACTED] this file was taken by Mr. E. DUDLEY SWIM, treasurer of the New York organization, and removed to his office at the NATIONAL INVESTORS CORPORATION, 120 Broadway, New York City. He pointed out that possession of this file is deemed highly advantageous, particularly from the standpoint of securing further contributions in movements along the same line and stated that he feels sure such is being preserved by Mr. SWIM at his office for future use. b2 b7D

At the time of this interview, [REDACTED] made available to agent [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] informant stated that in his opinion the following listed units of the America First Committee in New York City area are continuing their efforts and activities more or less as a group:

BRONX SECTION:

The South Bronx Unit - ANGELO LANGELLO, chairman  
The Westchester Square Unit - FRANK E. KAHN, chairman  
The Wakefield Unit - DOMINIC D. LATTURO, chairman

BROOKLYN SECTION:

Bay Ridge Unit - MRS. GERTRUDE WILLIAMS, chairwoman

QUEENS SECTION:

Astoria Unit - MRS. K. M. FRANK, chairwoman  
Corona Unit - MRS. ROSE De LUCCA, chairwoman  
Elmhurst Unit - MRS. ARTHUR G. JUST, chairwoman  
Richmond Hill Unit - MR. BUNK, chairman

WESTCHESTER COUNTY SECTION:

New Rochelle Chapter - W. J. BAXTER, chairman  
Mt. Vernon Chapter - D. A. TESTA, chairman.

[REDACTED] as furnished Special Agent [REDACTED] by [REDACTED] is being maintained in this file in the New York Field office. b7C

[REDACTED] expressed his desire to cooperate further in this investigation and advised that he will discreetly resume his contacts with the individuals and organizations which are evidently continuing to function and that all information he can develop will be promptly furnished the New York office.

Special Agent [REDACTED] contacted [REDACTED] concerning information which he might have in his possession indicating the continued activities of individuals and organizations connected with, or springing from, the America First organization in New York City. It should be noted that under date of March 9, 1942 informant had furnished to the New York office a report concerning the organization AMERICANS FOR PEACE and HORACE J. HAASE, the pertinent contents of which in connection with this investigation are hereinafter set forth.

HORACE HAASE [REDACTED]

At the same time he informed NIE about his new organization and while he stated that he knows NIE can not participate in building up the organization, he asked NIE his views. SENATOR NIE [REDACTED] allegedly stated that he is too busy to participate or read HAASE's book but stated that "his views are still the same" and wished HAASE every success; "that he believes a peace now would be much better than peace later but unfortunately our leadership does not even try to negotiate".

[REDACTED] both active supporters of AMERICA FIRST, are interested in opening chapters of AMERICANS FOR PEACE in Brooklyn. Both endorse the program heartily, particularly with regard to the fight against Union Now and the reelecting campaign in the Fall. They also stand for a quick, negotiated peace and against the administration.

[REDACTED] known for his America First activities in New York City, seems to be quite interested. [REDACTED]

ERNEST E. WHEELER, formerly of the New York executive committee of America First, answered that he was not interested in joining AMERICANS FOR PEACE. [REDACTED]

However, informant's personal note indicates disbelief in WHEELER's statement.

AMOS R. E. PINCHOT advised HAASE that he is writing a book against the administration, claiming to have no money free to contribute, but he is interested and endorses the four points of the program against Union Now, against Communism, against the administration and for a quick, negotiated peace.

[REDACTED] and with them their 100 members

of WOMEN UNITED want a close cooperation with HAASE. They also agree upon every single point of the program. b7c

[REDACTED], all of America First, promised help and endorsed the 4 points heartily. [REDACTED] New York and a frequenter of Brooklyn America First headquarters, answered favorably although regretted that he cannot become a member because of his being drafted. However, he sent a \$2 contribution to HAASE.

KURT MERTIG and his CITIZENS PROTECTIVE LEAGUE, well known to the Bureau and the New York Field office, even took up a collection for HAASE, HAASE having spoken twice before MERTIG's group within two weeks, both times demanding that America get out of the war and saying that, "our first objective is the earliest possible peace". A report of HAASE's speeches before the above mentioned meetings was contained in the New York World Telegram for March 20, 1942 entitled, "Peace Speaker 'Found No Nazis in Yorkville'". Informant's report indicated that HAASE had excused himself to MERTIG for what he had told the newspaper reporter and assures MERTIG that he considers him a good citizen.

[REDACTED] of St. Louis, Missouri, an active member of the America First Committee and believer in the single tax, is forming a chapter of AMERICANS FOR PEACE in St. Louis, and endorses four points of the program. Informant's report included [REDACTED] b7D

MRS. A. C. PATERSON, Hotel St. George, Brooklyn, 75 year old speaker for America First Committee; JOHN G. SCOTT, editor of "Money"; and CHARLES INGERSOLL, editor of DEMOCRACY, are all reported 100 percent with HAASE. It should be noted that investigation has disclosed that both SCOTT and INGERSOLL share office space with HAASE at 1165 Broadway, New York City and MRS. PATERSON is actively working for HAASE in his office.

A Queens group of America First Committee members grouped around [REDACTED] do not want to cooperate with HAASE because he is not radical enough in their estimation.

[REDACTED] endorses the program and makes propaganda of it. [REDACTED] b7D

[REDACTED] made available to agent [REDACTED] pertaining to and indicating continued activities of the AMERICA FIRST organization in New York City [REDACTED]

The following information is set forth [REDACTED] and is being set out in chronological order as of its receipt by him:

January 1, 1942 Informant reported a definite split between the followers of JOHN T. FLYNN and EDWIN S. WEBSTER, Jr. The Webster group felt that FLYNN is too radical although he has been, and always will be, opposed to the introduction of the Jewish question into the organization. Report indicated that Informant was in contact with WOMEN UNITED organization and secures the sentiments of America Firsters from such source.

This also reported a meeting of women at the Hotel Plaza for the purpose of organizing GIFTS FOR OUR BOYS, such meeting having been organized by [REDACTED]

On January 12, 1942 Informant's reports indicated that GIFTS FOR OUR BOYS was composed principally of [REDACTED], who it was indicated, were the real originators of the organization; MRS. ROSE De LUCCA of the Queens chapter of the America First Committee, who allegedly stated that she could circularize 45,000 members and raise \$1,000 in a week; MR. ANDREW SMITH, leader of the Bronx County chapter of America First Committee. However, Informant reported that there was a definite split between [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] because of irregularities on the part of [REDACTED] in handling contributions received and because of differences in views, it being reported that [REDACTED] was severing her relations with the [REDACTED]

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organization and forming an organization of her own entitled SALUTE OUR MEN, INC.

On January 15, 1942 Informant's report stated that so far as known EDWIN S. WEBSTER, Jr. has not attempted to organize a new group of old America First members. However, it reported that [REDACTED] of the Brooklyn organization of America First had made such an attempt but that such had bogged down for lack of leadership. b7c

On January 24, 1942 Informant reported that LAWRENCE DENNIS, who is known as the author of "The Coming American Fascism", and publisher of the Weekly Foreign Letter, was planning for continuance of America First Committee propaganda with the help of GENERAL WOOD and LOUGLAS STUART. The purpose of the new program was allegedly to stop the war and by advertising the menace of the white nations, America, Britain and Germany, weakening or destroying themselves by continuing the war to the advantage of Russia and Asiatic countries. It was reported that DENNIS was attempting to get backing for his program from the old guard of the America First Committee.

On February 3, 1942 [REDACTED] reported that there was a move underway to solidify AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE members into a new organization to fit the present situation or to merge it with some organization friendly to the America First Committee and operating on a basis to the liking of the leadership of America First Committee. It was reported that in Detroit, Michigan negotiations were in progress between America First Committee leaders and GERALD L. K. SMITH of the COMMITTEE OF ONE MILLION for unification and consolidation of these two organizations. Informant stated that the America First Committee in Detroit and vicinity would probably move enmass into Smith's organization. b2 b7D

On February 9, 1942 [REDACTED] reported [REDACTED] b2 b7D

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

On February 9, 1942 [REDACTED] reports indicated that HORACE J. HAASE was beginning work as assistant editor on the STATE COURIER of the State Republican League, Union City, New Jersey under CHARLES INGERSOLL who is editor of DEMOCRACY and who reportedly shares office space with HAASE. Informant reported that HAASE in this work helps to gain influence in Republican Party politics which would permit him to tie it in with revised America First groups. b2 b7D

On February 11, 1942 informant reported that HAASE had received no reply concerning his request for aid from EDWIN S. WEBSTER, Jr. [REDACTED]

also reported was [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] reported that HAASE's principal concern is to reorganize and to bring together in one large group all of the former Isolationists and anti-administration elements. It was stated that he is restive in his present flag waving job but hopes to get a permanent, organizing job from whatever new movement emerges from the remnants of the America First Committee. It was stated that he desires to enlist the support of the German-American element. b2 b7D

On February 16, 1942 [REDACTED] reported that [REDACTED] formerly of the KEEP AMERICA OUT OF WAR CONGRESS and COMMITTEE FOR A DEMOCRATIC PEACE and now organizing the POST WAR WORLD COUNCIL, [REDACTED], was urgently seeking the support of [REDACTED] b2 b7D b7C

the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE membership for her new organization but was opposed to any support from the CHRISTIAN FRONT element. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] b7c  
[REDACTED] b7D  
[REDACTED]  
It was reported that there would be a meeting in the near future between AMERICANS FOR PEACE and [REDACTED]'s organization.

On February 24, 1942, [REDACTED] reported that WOMEN UNITED under the leadership of [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] were very active in anti-war groups and were corresponding a great deal with MRS. FURTON K. WHEELER and SENATOR NYE, formerly active in America First. Informant reported that most active participants in WOMEN UNITED, in addition to those mentioned, are [REDACTED] b2  
[REDACTED] b7D  
[REDACTED] b7C  
It was also reported that this organization was largely financed by [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] It was reported that this organization was extremely anxious to enlist in the organization any women formerly active in the America First Committee and their platform was based upon anti-Communism and anti-Union Now principles. [REDACTED] was reportedly doing the printing for the organization and very active in raising funds.

On February 25, 1942, [REDACTED] report stated that MRS. ALICE HOLMES, former chairwoman of the America First unit at 67 Liberty Street, New York City, was continuing the organization and promotion of GIFTS FOR OUR BOYS at 150 Broadway, New York City but little was known concerning the results of her efforts as yet. b2  
b7D

On March 2, 1942 HORACE J. HAASE was reported as collaborating with Mr. and Mrs. CHARLES NIXDORF of WOMEN UNITED who had promised him 100% aid from their organization. It was also indicated that support would be forth coming from [REDACTED] and [REDACTED], formerly active in Brooklyn America first organization. b7c

Informant's report dated March 14, 1942 stated that EVELYN PALMER of New York America first had arranged a meeting between LAWRENCE DENNIS and COLONEL LINDBERGH, DENNIS desiring to convince Lindbergh to



solicit funds from HENRY FORD for the continuation of America First activities. However, it was reported that LINDBERGH declined any proposal made by DENNIS, it further being indicated that most of the America First members looked upon EVELYN PALMER as an Nazi agent and feared too close association with her.

Under date of March 19, 1942 [redacted] reported that HAASE in his efforts for AMERICANS FOR PEACE was securing aid from AMOS F. E. PINCHOT and was maintaining close contact with WOMEN UNITED. HAASE's association with, and speeches before, [redacted] the CITIZENS PROTECTIVE LEAGUE, were also reported. It was reported that HAASE was communicating with SENATOR NIE, CHARLES LINDBERGH and numerous others in an effort to secure the support of prominent individuals. It was further reported that [redacted] indicating strong support and desires of forming chapters of his organization, AMERICANS FOR PEACE, in St. Louis, Missouri by [redacted] and from [redacted] in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. b2 b7D b7C

Under date of March 19, 1942 Informant's report contained the following allegations secured from a source of information in Chicago: GENERAL WOOD is reported to have choice documents of the America First Committee from all over the United States, secured at the time the organization was dissolved, in his SEARS ROEBUCK COMPANY office. Whenever former leaders of the America First Committee in Chicago meet they talk about the absolute necessity of a compromise peace with the Axis. On their program, the drive for such a peace will follow the pre-election campaign. LINDBERGH's name is frequently mentioned but apparently he is completely silent, which is probably part of a well planned scheme.

On April 7, 1941 [redacted] reported that EDWIN S. WEBSTER, Jr. had apparently refused to become a member/or to contribute to HORACE J. HAASE's organization, AMERICANS FOR PEACE; also that H. DUDLEY SWIM, former treasurer of the organization, had apparently indicated no desire to cooperate with HAASE although he had not flatly refused cooperation. This report stated that WEBSTER does not trust HAASE and he not only refused to become a member of AMERICANS FOR PEACE or to contribute, but even refused to give HAASE recommendations to any other America Firsters. Also reported was the fact that DR. BUCHANAN and REVEREND OLSON were the only members of the executive board of the former Brooklyn America First Committee who had favorably reacted to HAASE's letters. It was reported that REVEREND OLSON was arranging a meeting at his Lutheran Church in Brooklyn for the 15th of April for the express purpose of affording the opportunity to speak and further his organization plans. At this time it was also reported that HAASE intended publishing a semi-monthly news letter, the purpose of which was to coordinate all peace movements. b2 b7D



It was stated that he had suggested the idea of unification and coordination to approximately 50 organizations.

On the same date it was reported that [REDACTED]

It was also reported that an individual named [REDACTED]

For the information of the Indianapolis Field Division, there was also reported [REDACTED] who expressed her desire to organize a chapter of AMERICANS FOR PEACE in Indianapolis and who stated that she is willing to personally pay some of the expenses for a mass meeting in a hall seating 2,000 persons if HASE would come to Indianapolis to deliver an address on "All Out Against the administration".

Also reported was that DR. BUCKENAN and REVEREND OLSON were making efforts to organize a Brooklyn chapter of AMERICANS FOR PEACE, the meeting place of which was to be Rev. Olson's Lutheran Church in Brooklyn. It was reported that former American Firsters would meet there to discuss effective measures of building up AMERICANS FOR PEACE to a strong organization in Brooklyn.

On April 24, 1942 [REDACTED]

However, it was indicated that HASE's efforts to date had been largely negative and he was having difficulty in securing financial assistance.

For the information and attention of the Buffalo Field Division, on such date was also reported [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] indicating 100% agreement with the organization of AMERICANS FOR PEACE [REDACTED] and indicating a possible effort toward the formation of a chapter of this organization in Buffalo.

[REDACTED] under date of April 20, 1942 furnished the New York office with [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Informant also furnished [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Also furnished to the New York office was a copy of [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

also obtained photostatic copies of two printed statements made by her in opposition to war and the draft bill and asking for peace, one being addressed to the Congress of the United States and bearing date of December 15, 1941. In such statement, dated December 15, 1941, [REDACTED] states in effect that the war is an inside job and a plot to get the United States into a world revolution; that she has had inside information prior to Pearl Harbor through sources in Naval Intelligence concerning a "mass murder" in some outpost; that the President should be impeached and has been working more for foreign interests than for the United States and calling for a negotiated peace and "traditional policies of Isolation".

In the other statement of [REDACTED] dated March 4, 1942, she discusses her association with the late SENATOR LUNDEE and the injustice done to GEORGE SYLVESTER VIERICK. She defends Congressman HAMILTON FISH

and terms PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT a deliberate traitor.

Also furnished to the New York office with the above was a photostatic copy of a statement of [REDACTED] indicating his accord in a "general peace offensive" [REDACTED] b7c  
[REDACTED] by the AMERICANS FOR PEACE organization and expressing his belief that such movement, under the leadership of HORACE J. HAASE, will loom as a formidable force in the months to come. However, this statement does not indicate any more than passive agreement with the activities and sympathies of such organization.

Attention is directed to the article appearing in LIFE magazine of April 13, 1942 entitled, "The Voice of Lefeat", specific attention being directed to that section of the article dealing with New York City, much of which has reference to HORACE J. HAASE and the AMERICANS FOR PEACE organization. It should be noted that such article states that the real aim of AMERICANS FOR PEACE is to "break down the united American war effort" and it also attributes to HAASE the claim that such would be done through "small peace groups led by comparative unknowns" being organized in various localities which would carry on their work locally and not seek to form a national organization. HAASE reportedly stated that such groups will carry different names and appeal to all kinds of political prejudice. The article referred to also states that "Haase has used the Brooklyn mailing list of America First to circularize more than 400 chapter chairmen and other leaders in this movement." It should be noted that the article referred to also makes mention of the meeting of top ranking America Firsters held at the home of EDWIN S. WEBSTER, Jr. in December, 1941, and mentions the continued activities of a few leading American Firsters such as MRS. LIVINGSTON ROWE SCHUYLER, [REDACTED] b7c  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

Also furnished by the Bureau is a copy of a letter dated March 7, 1942 addressed to the "Editor, America, 329 West 110th Street, New York City"

and signed by HORACE J. HANSE, which is also apparently an effort to interest such individual in the newly formed organization and secure publicity for such. In the publication AMERICANS, also furnished by the Bureau, is a copy of a communication addressed to HORACE by "National Director" under date of March 24, 1942 indicating an interest in HANSE's organization and his desire to cooperate. The Bureau also furnished photostatic copies of a mimeographed sheet beginning, "Fellow American" and published by AMERICANS FOR PEACE and a mimeographed sheet beginning, "About the temporary chairman of Americans for Peace".

Copies of all the mimeographed or printed material which have to date been put forth by HORACE J. HANSE and the AMERICANS FOR PEACE organization have been secured through Confidential Informants listed in this report.

#119

UNDEVELOPED LEAD

All offices receiving copies of this report, and in the light of information contained herein, will continue investigative efforts for the purpose of determining whether the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE is being kept alive and active by individuals or organizations which may plan at some time in the future using this organization in a manner detrimental to the best interests of the United States.

- PENDING -

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100-4722-358  
[redacted]

July 21, 1942

b7c

Special Agent in Charge  
New York, New York

Re: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE  
INTERNAL SECURITY - S.

Dear Sirs:

Reference is made to the report of Special Agent [redacted] dated May 13, 1942, at New York City in the above captioned matter. From a review of this report it is noted that numerous organizations which have sprung up as an aftermath of the America First Committee are mentioned. However, there is no indication that these organizations are being treated from the investigative standpoint by your Office.

It is requested that a complete review of this report be made in those instances where no separate investigation has been initiated, this be done in the immediate future.

[redacted]

A current investigation of the America First Committee should be directed toward determining whether this organization, as such, in any way continues its operation. In this regard it will be noted that this case is currently delinquent in your Office, and it is desired that an early report be submitted.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director  
RECEIVED - NY 11/11/42  
JUL 21 1942

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. E. A. Tamm  
Mr. Clegg  
Mr. Glavin  
Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tracy  
Mr. Carson  
Mr. Egan  
Mr. Gurnea  
Mr. Hendon  
Mr. Jones  
Mr. Mumford  
Mr. Quinn  
Mr. Nease  
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION  
JUL 21 1942 P.M.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
JUL 25 1942

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/6/87 BY SP8BJT/RBG  
10-42-90 SP8BJT/CAL

#153

**Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice  
New York, New York**

100-9887

b7c  
May 18, 1962

Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D.C.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DECLASSIFIED BY 6080/LE  
ON 8-9-77  
SP8BSC/KOL  
10-17-90

Dear Sir:

Transmitted herewith for the information of the Bureau is a photostatic copy of a letter addressed to [REDACTED].

It will be noted that such letter in speaking of the America First Committee refers to "the desperate need that will prevail for such a Committee as it/function again" and speaks of its "rebirth". Also mentioned is the need for patience "lest we move too soon".

For your information this copy was obtained from [REDACTED].

Very truly yours,

COPY IN FILE

Encl.

1 ENCL. 18

P. E. Foxworth  
P. E. FOXWORTH,  
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR

cc. New York File 100-21235

Hand to Asst. to AG, James R. ...  
cc to Asst. ally ...  
5-26-42

RECORDED  
&  
INDEXED

100-4712-35

GENERAL INVESTIGATIVE  
16 MAY 20 1962  
U. S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE  
b7c



RECORDED

Date: #152

To:

The Assistant to the Attorney General, Mr. James Howe, Jr.

From: J. Edgar Hoover - Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

Subject: 100-81332  
[REDACTED]

Reference is made to my memoranda dated April 14, April 20, April 23 and May 4, 1942, directed to Mr. Wendell Berge, Assistant Attorney General, in the above-captioned matter.

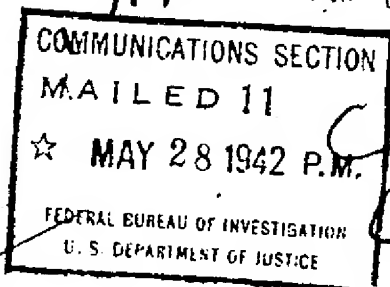
Through a confidential source this Bureau has secured copies of a letter dated [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] however, no further action is contemplated in regard to the above-referred to letter from [REDACTED]. For your complete information there are attached hereto typewritten copies of this communication.

Enclosure

CC: Assistant Attorney General Wendell Berge

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Coffey \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
 Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_



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# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1  
TYPE CASE ORIGINATED AT

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

FILE NO. 100-1077

<b>REPORT MADE AT</b> KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI	<b>DATE WHEN MADE</b> 5-15-42	<b>PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE</b> 4-15-42 17-20-27-30-42 5-4-6-7-8-42	<b>REPORT MADE BY</b> <div style="background-color: black; width: 100px; height: 1.2em; margin-bottom: 5px;"></div> b7c
<b>TITLE</b> AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE			<b>CHARACTER OF CASE</b> INTERNAL SECURITY - C
<b>SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:</b> <div style="text-align: center; font-weight: bold; font-size: 1.2em;">             DATE 10-17-90 BY SP5 BDL/CL           </div> <p>America First Committee disbanded at Kansas City, Missouri, 1-8-42, and files forwarded Chicago headquarters.</p> <div style="background-color: black; width: 100%; height: 80px; margin: 10px 0;"></div> <p>Individual case files on these organizations opened to determined officers and activities in this district. No known subrosa meetings of former members of America First Committee. History of this committee in Kansas City area set forth. Not incorporated in State of Kansas. Activities confined mainly to Kansas City, Missouri. Reliable informants at Columbia and Jefferson City, Missouri, state America First Committee has never existed at either of those places and at present does not exist. Springfield, Missouri, chapter inactive. Records office Secretary of State reflect America First Committee, St. Louis chapter, granted proforma incorporation decree 7-26-41 having submitted testimony for this decree in Circuit Court, City of St. Louis, State of Missouri, on Thursday, 7-17-41. No evidence that incorporation of this chapter has been abandoned. Photostatic copies of file in office of Secretary of State obtained. Investigation at Wichita, Kansas, fails to reveal the America First Committee was ever active in that locality to the extent where meetings were held or that the group was headed by any known individual.</p>			
<b>REFERENCE:</b> Bureau letter dated 3-15-42.			
<b>APPROVED AND FORWARDED:</b> <div style="text-align: center;">               SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE           </div>		<b>DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES</b> <div style="font-size: 1.5em; font-weight: bold; text-align: center;">             100 - 4712 - 362           </div>	
<b>COPIES OF THIS REPORT:</b> 5-Bureau 2-St. Louis 2-Chicago 1-Kansas City		<div style="text-align: center; font-size: 2em; font-weight: bold; opacity: 0.5;">             IN FILE           </div> <div style="text-align: center; font-weight: bold;">             MAY 18 1942           </div>	

**DETAILS:**

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] the motivating forces responsible for the activities of the America First Committee in Kansas City, Missouri, were all respectable business men, widely known in the community and believed to be sincere isolationists.

No evidence of any subversive activities on the part of the America First Committee or any influence of subversive organizations upon this committee was discovered [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

Accompanied by [REDACTED] the writer interviewed [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

He advised that he had never been affiliated with this organization, although he had been asked to join it. [REDACTED] related that [REDACTED] of the America First Committee upon the authority of [REDACTED] who had telephoned him and invited him to attend a meeting of this organization at the Kansas City Club. [REDACTED] stated that [REDACTED] he attended the meeting out of courtesy, but that his reaction was negative and he did not attend any other meetings.

[REDACTED] commented that prior to the conception of the America First Committee he had been active in Kansas City, Missouri, for the United Campaign Committee. This committee was interested in local politics. [REDACTED] was also interested in this United Campaign Committee. [REDACTED]

4/4

[redacted] advised that he had talked to [redacted] who had told him [redacted] although she was never a member of this committee.

[redacted] stated that [redacted] might have taken the names of people who were active in the United Campaign Committee and attempted to interest them in the America First Committee [redacted]

[redacted] advised that his name was removed from the America First Committee after he had attended the above mentioned meeting.

[redacted] stated in his opinion [redacted] efforts in connection with the America First Committee movement were sincere. It is to be commented that [redacted]

[redacted] stated that [redacted] was active in forming the America First Committee and that [redacted] was a sincere isolationist. [redacted] is now in the armed services of the United States. b7c b7D

[redacted] stated that he had not seen [redacted] since November 1941 and knew nothing further concerning the America First Committee. He suggested that [redacted] be contacted and expressed the opinion that [redacted] was a sincere isolationist. [redacted] is truly a patriotic American and is a highly respectable citizen of Kansas City.

[redacted] advised that [redacted] a prominent individual in Kansas City, had organized a group of people known as the "Keep Out of Foreign Wars Committee" which functioned in the fall of 1939. In about December 1940 when the Neutrality Bill was repealed [redacted] was instrumental in organizing the local America First Committee. [redacted] stated that he had made small donations of \$5.00 or \$10.00 to [redacted] former organization and that in about December 1940 [redacted]

[redacted] visited his office to interest him in a new organization to be known as the America First Committee. [redacted] had become interested through some contact made with her from Washington, D. C., and Chicago, Illinois.

[redacted] called an organization meeting and about twelve persons attended. [redacted] stated there was no specific date for subsequent meetings of the executive committee and they were held when desired, on an average of two a month, and were generally held in



#15  
b7c  
[redacted] added that he, as well as others, would often leave his own business to attend a called meeting, only to find that [redacted] had gone out of his office and was not present. He said that he, as well as other members, became disgusted with [redacted]  
[redacted]

b7c  
b7d  
[redacted]  
[redacted] continued that these three men did not take any active part in the organization from that time on. He related that anyone who attended meetings or contributed to the organization was listed as a member. It was also permissible to visit the organization's offices and sign a card as a member. The signers were not compelled to attend any meetings. All of the employees in the office of the group were voluntary workers and received no payment for their work.

b7c  
[redacted] stated that he believed the America First Committee in Kansas City and vicinity was a dead organization and that he had not been approached nor did he know of any activity on the part of any former members of the America First Committee since its formal disbandment in December 1941.

b7c  
b7d  
[redacted]  
[redacted] furnished Agent with a copy of a history of the America First Committee of the Kansas City Chapter which was prepared by [redacted] and this history is being set forth below for informational purposes:

The Kansas City Chapter of the America First Committee had its inception at a luncheon given at the Hotel Muehlebach, 11-20-40. This luncheon was given by Mr. H. W. Lukenow, President of the Wm. Volker Company. Present by invitation from Chicago were, Mr. Regnery, Mr. E. Douglas Stuart, Jr., Mr. Bliss, and Mr. Hanford McNider. Thirty-five or forty other local guests were also present. Among these, Mr. Ray F. Moseley, President of Moseley

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and Company, organizer of a similar idea "Stay Out of War Society," presided at this meeting. After speeches by the America First group and an explanation of what they stood for, the meeting voted Mr. Luhnow should, as a committee of one, select a working organization.

Out of this meeting was formed a Kansas City Chapter with Mr. Ray Moseley Chairman, Mr. Porter Hall and Mr. H. W. Luhnow as Vice-chairman, Mrs. E. H. Vincent, Secretary, and Mr. David Childs, Treasurer. Included also in the Executive Committee were, Mr. Roy K. Dietrich, Mr. Heath Moore, Mrs. E. C. Moservey, Jr., Mrs. Franklin Murphy, Dr. Bruce R. Trimble and Mrs. R. J. Higgins. Approval from Chicago was granted this line-up but no charter sent. Whereabouts of notification unknown.

The first office was opened at 1017 Baltimore Avenue, with Mrs. E. H. Vincent in charge. After a period of six weeks the office was closed, due to lack of urgency in the war situation and the loss of office space to permanent renters. In May, when conditions seemed to justify the reopening of an office, one was opened at 1008-1010 Main Street, with Miss Lenore Harline in charge. The opening of this office followed the Clark Rally which was held at the Scottish Rite Temple. Both Senator Bennett C. Clark and Ex-Governor Alf Landon spoke to a capacity crowd. Among those who came to the Main Street address was Mrs. Ethyle A. Stevenson, who made a filing system and stayed to assist Miss Harline. On June 9th this office space was also rented permanently and necessitated the AFC moving to 1006 Baltimore Avenue.

On June 19th, the Nye meeting was held at the same place as the Clark Rally, after which a small steady influx of new members made their appearance. We began to receive numerous threatening notices through the mail and a huge red "V" was painted on the window one night. Mrs. Moservey resigned from the Executive Committee. Norman Stamps, University of Kansas City student came to assist with the work, thereby bringing the number of volunteer office workers to three.

The Executive Committee participated in so far as some of them gave discourses over the radio, introduced guest speakers, and attended Executive meetings to decide the activities of the Chapter etc., Mr. Moseley asked to resign at this time, due to heavy business demands of his company. He was persuaded to remain and the Committee was reorganized with him as Chairman of the Advisory Committee exception, being Dr. Bruce R. Trimble, who was elected Executive Director of the new Executive Committee - Lenore Harline, Secretary, Ethyle Stevenson, Treasurer. Mr. Roy K. Dietrich resigned from the Executive Committee before the Committee became

#17

the Advisory Committee. One of the main reasons for reorganization was the definite need for a more active local office to hold local meetings, have speeches and keep the people interested — the members of the Executive Committee could not devote all their time to the furtherance of this goal due to business demands.

On August 9th the office moved again to 1009 Grand Avenue. This was by far the best location having a large display window. The Committee went forward with new impetus and a small news bulletin was planned and started. We were doing fine with as many as thirty-five people coming in a day, when the owners decided to sell the building. The entire window space, with the exception of about five feet was blocked up with a huge yellow and black "For Sale" sign. Callers fell off and a mild depression set in — but the situation readjusted itself and though the number of callers was never the same, we still were going forward. Incorporation papers had been filed but had not been approved.

By the first of September the organization depended mostly upon the publishing of "Shield America" in its endeavor to keep the country out of war and availed themselves of the use of radio programs and letters sent to members along with the telephone groups lending their support. With the start of cool weather there was a period of intensive propaganda used against us. Almost every morning before opening up it was necessary to remove empty liquor bottles from in front of the door and erase red swastikas from the small available window space. After about ten days this stopped. With the organizing of the gigantic letter writing campaign through Chicago for all Chapters to write to Congressmen, the Kansas City Chapter organized a letter writing group, the effectiveness of which far exceeded our idea of successful cooperation. Thousands of letters were sent to both Houses of Congress from Kansas City. This was all done in the attempt to persuade Congress to uphold the Neutrality laws.

Advised that there was to be a national convention in Washington, D. C. the Committee sent Dr. Trimble and Ethyle Stevenson to represent the Kansas City Chapter. From this convention, new enthusiasm was instilled in the Kansas City office and the letter writing campaign completed. A series of radio speeches and round table discussions were heard over the radio stations -- eight in number. On November 14 Mr. Moseley resigned from the Advisory Committee. The office again moved to 642 Law Building, 12th and Grand, the last home of the America First Committee in Kansas City.

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On December 8th, following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Mr. David Childs resigned from the Advisory Committee and the remaining committee voted to follow the lead of Chicago and dissolved.

The America First Committee in Kansas City was a continuous uphill fight with not a single newspaper or public instrument on our side. However, with all the stumbling blocks in our path, we slowly and steadily gained numbers and I am sure that we will not be forgotten.

[redacted] also furnished a copy of a letter addressed to him by [redacted] Kansas City, Missouri, dated 1-10-42, which advised that the day following Japan's attack upon Pearl Harbor the America First Committee at Kansas City, Missouri, received a telegram to stand by for further orders. Subsequently a letter came which asked for a committee meeting to ascertain the opinions of committee members as to the future status of the America First Committee. A meeting was held and a telegram was sent to the Chicago headquarters that the majority of the advisory committee favored adjournment. Subsequently all files of the America First Committee at Kansas City, Missouri, were forwarded to the Chicago headquarters. [redacted] stated these files were to be stored in General WOOD'S safe at Sears, Roebuck and Company, Chicago, Illinois, and their reports on the committee's activities would be sent by the Chicago headquarters to the Dies Committee. b7 b7

[redacted] advised that the committee was formally disbanded by the vote of the executive committee on 12-9-41 and that the files of the America First Committee had been transmitted to the America First Committee headquarters in Chicago, Illinois.

[redacted] advised that at no time since the formal disbanding of the group has she ever been approached by any organization or individual with the idea of reviving the America First Committee and she knows of no activity on the part of any members of the America First Committee to revive the organization.

[redacted] She stated that the America First activities in this area were confined mainly to Kansas City, Missouri, and vicinity and that she knew

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of no active promotion of the America First Committee in any cities in the Western District of Missouri.

[redacted] advised that in October 1941 a [redacted] visited her and that she was apparently the head of an organization known as the Fellowship of Reconciliation. This group was apparently endorsed by [redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted]

The indices of the Kansas City Field Office reflect no information concerning [redacted]

The indices of the Kansas City Field Office reflect that on 2-4-41 the Bureau transmitted a copy of a memorandum dated 8-16-40 summarizing information in the Bureau's possession concerning the organization known as "Fellowship of Reconciliation." This memorandum revealed that this organization is a known pacifist organization formed after the World War. A separate case file is being opened in the Kansas City Field Office in order to determine the officers and activities of the Fellowship of Reconciliation in this district.

[redacted] stated also that in January 1942 two men whose names she did not know but who she believed were connected with the Kansas City Power and Light Company, approached her and advised they were connected with an organization known as the Circle Council of the Constitution. This organization is located in Kansas City, Kansas, and its address, membership, purpose and officers are not known. It was [redacted] impression that this group is a neighborhood organization which has meetings and discussions on the Constitution, Article by Article. The men who visited [redacted]

[redacted] said if the people understood the Constitution the present war could have been side tracked. [redacted] remarked that she did not give these individuals [redacted]

The indices of the Kansas City Field Office do not reflect any information concerning the Circle Council of the Constitution and a separate case file is being opened by the Kansas City office to determine the officers and activities of this organization.

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
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# 31

[REDACTED]

Special Agent [REDACTED] ascertained at the office of the Secretary of State, State House, Topeka, Kansas, that the America First Committee is not nor has it been incorporated under the laws of the State of Kansas. b7c

Special Agent [REDACTED] advised he was unable to locate any evidence of the existence of the America First Committee in Topeka, Kansas, or vicinity.

The following investigation was conducted by Special Agent [REDACTED]

At Columbia, Missouri -

The following persons who are reliable sources of information for matters reflecting political trends and development of political organizations were contacted at Columbia.

[REDACTED] stated he had never heard of any attempt to organize an America First Committee in Columbia and he was positive there had been no action on the part of this committee in that vicinity during recent time. b2 b7D

[REDACTED] and who is definitely opposed to the idea of the America First Committee as it previously existed and stated he has never received any information that there was an attempt to organize an America First Committee at Columbia, Missouri. He advised however if there had been such a movement in this vicinity [REDACTED] would have knowledge relative to this matter. b7c

# 32

[redacted] stated the America First Committee in the State of Missouri, so far as he knew, was now non-existent. He stated at one time he heard that [redacted] who resides at [redacted] Missouri, was somewhat of an isolationist and was sympathetic towards the ideas of the America First Committee. He stated if he were in it, he would probably so advise; that he was considered as a fine, patriotic man and would disclose any information he might have.

[redacted] stated also that a Miss EVA JOHNSON, deceased, had likewise been sympathetic with the movement in Columbia, Missouri.

Outside of these two people he stated he has never heard of any activity on the part of the committee. He stated there was some local talk about the America First Committee but no organization had ever taken place and no one had ever attempted to organize it in Columbia generally. He stated the community around Columbia was generally very bitter toward the committee and due to BERNETT CLARK'S connection with this committee he had lost favor with the voters of Missouri.

b7c  
b7d

[redacted] advised that [redacted] as a result of CLARK'S attitude he knew that he could not win another election in Missouri and many people who had formerly stood by CLARK in the Democratic Party had expressed their disapproval of his stand.

[redacted], stated that while in St. Louis, Missouri, he was approached by members of the America First Committee to join their organization but that he had no stock in the group and did not sympathize with them. He stated he was in favor of all out war on the part of the United States and he would cooperate to the greatest of his ability to aid in that cause.

b7c

[redacted] advised he had been connected with [redacted] for the past 52 years. He stated he kept abreast of political times; that he had been [redacted] and he had never heard of any activity on the part of the America First Committee in Columbia, Missouri. He stated if there had been such a move he believed he would have some knowledge of it. He stated he knew of no members of that organization in this part of the state.

b7c

- At Jefferson City, Missouri -

[redacted] office of the Secretary of State, and the writer examined the records of the Secretary of State which contained therein a file for the America First Committee, St. Louis Chapter.

b7c



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This organization was granted a proforma decree for incorporation by the Circuit Court in the City of St. Louis, State of Missouri, on Thursday, 7-17-41. The incorporators of this organization were:

JOSEPH FORSHAW  
OSCAR E. BUDER  
OSCAR CORMAN  
HARRY S. ROOKS

Chairman  
First Vice Chairman  
Second Vice Chairman  
Attorney

An examination of the file failed to indicate any attempt had been made to disband this group or discontinue their rights under the incorporation.

Photostatic copies were made of the entire file of the America First Committee of St. Louis, Missouri, and these are being retained as a part of this file in the Kansas City Field Office. The secretary of this group apparently is GEORGE P. MUELLER inasmuch as a letter addressed to the Secretary of State is signed by him.

[REDACTED] stated he was well acquainted with political movements in the State of Missouri; that he himself was a politician and had been connected with the Secretary of State's office for many years; that his home was in Springfield, Missouri, and he had never heard of any attempt to organize the America First Committee in Jefferson City, Missouri, and he did not know of anyone in this vicinity who belonged to that organization.

The following persons were contacted, all of whom are reliable and are closely connected with political movements in the State of Missouri:

CHARLES SEIBOLD

United States Commissioner

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] said that last summer he had heard some talk relative to the America First Committee in Jefferson City but that he had never heard anything specific about it and had never heard of anyone in Jefferson City being connected with it.

[REDACTED] stated that he was on a committee in charge of the Lindbergh trophies and had come into contact with the America First Committee in St. Louis, Missouri, and for that reason he had taken a vigorous part in the Committee to Defend America in opposition to the America First Committee. He stated he had never heard of any attempt being made to organize the America First Committee in Jefferson City; that

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it was his belief it never had existed there and did not exist there at the present time.

[redacted] stated he had traveled throughout the State of Missouri with his inspectors and had never heard the America First Committee mentioned outside of Kansas City and St. Louis, Missouri.

The following investigation was conducted by  
Special Agent [redacted]

- At Springfield, Missouri -

[redacted] who had attended all America First Committee meetings prior to his departure for the West Coast during the fall of 1941, related there was no activity in the above organization in Springfield at the present time. She based this belief on her knowledge of the past activities of the committee and her knowledge of its membership. She assured Agent that in the event any information of any kind or character was received, she would immediately communicate such information to Agent or the Kansas City Field Office.

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#35

The following investigation was conducted by Special Agent [REDACTED]

At Wichita, Kansas

Inquiry made of several individuals in Wichita, Kansas, including [REDACTED] Special Agent of the Bureau of Internal Revenue, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] United States Probation Officer, Wichita, Kansas and [REDACTED] failed to reflect that the America First Committee ever acted openly and actively in Wichita or vicinity.

In discussing this matter with [REDACTED] b7c b7d he stated that he had never heard of any meetings of the America First Committee being held in Wichita, Kansas and he had never heard any individual being mentioned as being the leader of such a group in Wichita, however he did state that [REDACTED] a noted attorney at Wichita, Kansas, with offices [REDACTED] Building, would in his general attitude come as close to being an adherent of the America First Committee as any individual that he knew.

[REDACTED] was also questioned regarding his knowledge of whether the America First Committee had ever operated in Wichita and whether it was now defunct. [REDACTED] stated that he had no information indicating that the America First Committee had ever operated in Wichita and pointed out that [REDACTED] was decidedly opposed to the isolationist policy of the America First Committee; that also to his knowledge there had never been any meetings of the America First Committee at Wichita, Kansas, and that possibly the nearest place the America First Committee had received any prominence was in Oklahoma City on the occasion when Col. CHARLES LINDBERGH was to address a large audience there.

[REDACTED] stated that on two occasions during the latter part of 1941 [REDACTED] ran an advertisement for the America First Committee, [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

It was considered possible, therefore, that because of the fact that [REDACTED] had been mentioned as a possible member and leader of the America First Committee, that the new group now being formed might be an organization of the nature indicated by the Bureau, formed for the purpose of keeping alive a nucleus which might later be used in a way detrimental to the present war effort.

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b7d

[REDACTED]

In connection with the America First Committee, it is recalled by the writer that one ZELLA BOSSEN HONSKA, who has written articles for the paper "Publicity" published by ELMER J. GARNER at Wichita, Kansas, at one time in an article appearing in "Publicity" signed as the secretary of the America First Committee.

[REDACTED]

b7c

PENDING

#37

**UNDEVELOPED LEADS:**

**KANSAS CITY FIELD DIVISION**

At Joplin, Missouri, will conduct an investigation in line with reference letter in order to determine if the America First Committee is active at present or if any members of the America First Committee have attempted to continue the function of the America First Committee.

At Wichita, Kansas, will maintain contact with [REDACTED] in an effort to develop information regarding the nature and activities of the organization being formed of which [REDACTED] is alleged to be the head.

At Salina, Kansas, will conduct appropriate inquiry to determine the activities of [REDACTED] to determine whether the America First Committee is continuing to operate under that or another name in that locality.

b7c

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1  
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **CHICAGO, ILLINOIS**

IR FILE NO. 100-555

REPORT MADE AT <b>LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>5-18-42</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>5-13-42</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>[REDACTED] b7c</b>
TITLE <b>0 AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE</b>			CHARACTER OF CASE <b>INTERNAL SECURITY - G</b>

**SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:** America First Committee apparently not active in Arkansas and inquiries concerning same, negative.

-END-

**REFERENCE:** Bureau letter to all Special Agents in Charge, March 16, 1942.

**DETAILS:** Reference is made to Bureau letter of March 16, 1942, which requested that the Bureau be kept advised of any significant development indicating that the America First Committee is operating as an underground organization inimical to the best interests of the United States.

A review of the files in the Little Rock Field Division reflects that no complaint whatever has been received relative to any activity of the America First Committee in Arkansas.

**[REDACTED]** advised that they have heard nothing whatever concerning any activity of the America First Committee in the State of Arkansas. b7c

The two leading newspapers in the State of Arkansas are the "Arkansas Democrat" and the "Arkansas Gazette", both of which have offices at Little Rock, Arkansas. b7c

**[REDACTED]** advised that they have never had a news release, nor have they heard anything whatever of any activities of the America First Committee within the State of Arkansas. b7c

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#2  
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

IR 100-555

[REDACTED]

b7c  
b7D

It appears, therefore, that the America First Committee is not operating at the present time within the Little Rock Field Division in any manner whatsoever.

- REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN -

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **CHICAGO, ILLINOIS**

**JAX** FILE NO. **100-747**

REPORT MADE AT <b>JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>5-18-42</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>5-16-42</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>[REDACTED] b7c [REDACTED]</b>
TITLE <b>AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE</b>			CHARACTER OF CASE <b>INTERNAL SECURITY - G</b>

**SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:** No indication that America First Committee is or has been active in the State of Mississippi.

- RUC -

**REFERENCE:** Bureau letter dated March 16, 1942 and Bureau teletype dated May 11, 1942.

**DETAILS:**

At Jackson, Mississippi

The files of the Jackson Field Division fail to disclose any information which would indicate that the America First Committee has been active in the State of Mississippi at any time.

[REDACTED] advised that he had never received any information which would indicate that this organization was active in Jackson or vicinity. [REDACTED] advised that because of the very nature of the people in Jackson, he felt that any organized movement under cover of the America First Committee, would have been reported to him immediately. [REDACTED] advised that his men have been on a constant lookout for activities of organizations such as the America First Committee, and that they have discovered nothing that would indicate their presence.

Discreet inquiries were made of [REDACTED] to ascertain if any organization such as the America First Committee had come to his attention. [REDACTED] advised that an organization

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JAX 100-747

such as the America First Committee would not need a permit or charter of any kind to meet in the state, but he advised that if such an organization had existed here, he was certain someone would have made inquiries to determine if they needed a charter or permit. [REDACTED] stated that he is well acquainted with organizations in the state, but he has never heard of the America First Committee being active. He stated that it was his personal belief that this organization has not and is not organized in Mississippi. b7c

It might be noted that [REDACTED] b7c b7D

Other than this, nothing in connection with this group appears in the Jackson file.

- REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO OFFICE OF ORIGIN -

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **CHICAGO, ILLINOIS**

92204

FILE NO. **100-1**

REPORT MADE AT <b>DALLAS, TEXAS</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>5-18-42</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>5-14-15-42</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>[REDACTED]</b> <span style="float: right;">b7c</span>
TITLE <b>AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE</b>			CHARACTER OF CASE <b>INTERNAL SECURITY - C</b>

**SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:**

Investigation to date reflects America First Committee is presently inactive in the Dallas Division.

**REFERENCE:** Bureau letter dated March 26, 1942.

**DETAILS:**

[REDACTED] advised that the America First Committee was somewhat active in Dallas about 1939. Sometime during 1939 [REDACTED] in Dallas, Texas, received a call from some individual whose name he does not recall, requesting [REDACTED] to deliver a speech at a rally to be held by the America First Committee and also requesting him to take a leading roll in organizing the Dallas branch of this organization. Both requests were refused by [REDACTED].

[REDACTED] has since been called into active service in the United States Army and is out of the state.

[REDACTED] stated since 1939 the America First Committee has been inactive, so far as he knows, in this territory. [REDACTED] stated he believes he can ascertain definitely if the America First Committee is active at all in the Dallas District at the present time by contacting his sources of information and will advise upon completion of this task.

The 1941 Dallas City Directory lists RICHARD P. JEFFREY as Secretary of the America First Committee. The 1941 Dallas Telephone Directory failed to list the above individual.

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <i>A.P. [Signature]</i> - E.C. [Signature]	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES
COPIES OF THIS REPORT 1 - Chicago 1 - Dallas 1 - [REDACTED] 1 - [REDACTED]	100-4712-365 MAY 21 1942 [REDACTED]
	[REDACTED] <span style="float: right;">b7c</span>

DALLAS #100-1336

5-18-42

92207

It is noted that the San Francisco Office in a letter to the  
Bureau dated October 1, 1941, listed [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

DALLAS #100-1338

[REDACTED], 5-18-42

b7c

92208

UNDEVELOPED LEADS:

THE DALLAS FIELD DIVISION

At Dallas, Texas: Will check the newspaper morgues of the Dallas Morning News and the Dallas Times Herald and ascertain [REDACTED]

b7c

Will re-contact [REDACTED] in an effort to determine if there is any activity on the part of the America First Committee in the Dallas Field Division at this time.

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b7c  
b7E

PENDING

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100-4712-366

CANCELLED

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

FILE NO. 100-917

REPORT MADE AT <b>DENVER, COLORADO</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>5-18-42</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>4-25; 5-5-1942</b>	REPORT MADE BY <div style="background-color: black; width: 100px; height: 1.2em; display: inline-block;"></div> <b>b7c</b>
TITLE  <b>AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE</b>			CHARACTER OF CASE  <b>INTERNAL SECURITY - G</b>

**SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:**

No information secured to the effect that America First Committee is continuing operations in the Denver Field Division. List of officers and members in Denver submitted.

- R U C -

**REFERENCE:**

Bureau letter dated March 16, 1942.

Teletype from the Bureau dated May 11, 1942.

**ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED**

DATE 8/31/84 BY SP8 BTJ/col

Comp # 242,942

**DETAILS:**

AT DENVER, COLORADO:

The America First Committee had a rather uncertain career at Denver. It was organized in the Spring of 1941 and on October 28, 1941 COLONEL E. W. DUNCAN of Lowry Field declared it off the reservation for members of his command. This action was taken on information that members of his command had not only frequented the headquarters of the America First Committee, but had also been active in the distribution of pamphlets, buttons, etc.

Later on the Committee sponsored the appearance of LAURA INGALLS at Denver, and on the outbreak of the war it was dissolved. At the time of the Committee's dissolution in Denver, according to newspaper reports, ARTHUR A. BROOKS, State Chairman, was quoted as follows:

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APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <div style="text-align: center;"></div>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES <div style="font-size: 1.5em; font-weight: bold; text-align: center;">100-4712-367</div>
COPIES OF THIS REPORT 5 - BUREAU 2 - CHICAGO 2 - G-2, DENVER 2 - ONLY, DENVER 2 - DENVER		RECORDED INDEXED <div style="text-align: center; font-weight: bold; font-size: 1.2em;">MAY 21 1942</div> <div style="background-color: black; width: 80px; height: 40px; margin: 5px auto;"></div> <div style="text-align: right; font-size: 1.5em;">b7c</div>

"Between one-half and two-thirds of our active workers of military age already have volunteered to serve in the armed forces within a week or so I imagine the number will have increased to 90 percent."

He estimated the state membership at 12,000, of whom 10,000 are in Denver. This story appeared in the Rocky Mountain News at Denver, December 12, 1941.

Agent interviewed [REDACTED] b7c b7D

[REDACTED] is very familiar with the make-up of the America First Committee and is personally acquainted with many of the Committee members. She stated that as far as she has been able to learn the America First Committee has carried on no activities since the outbreak of the war. It is her understanding that some of the Committee members, of course, meet socially but there has been, to her knowledge, no plans laid or active steps taken to continue its existence as an organization.

[REDACTED] furnished the following list of officers and Committee members of the America First Committee:

ARTHUR A. BROOKS, Chairman, Attorney, University Building;  
THOMAS MCCARTHY, Vice-President;  
✓ CHARLES THOMAS, Executive Secretary;  
HARRY C. SCHNIBBE, Public Relations Committee.

STATE COMMITTEE

REVEREND HUGH L. McMENAMIN, [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] Denver, Colorado;  
JUDGE J. FOSTER SYMES, [REDACTED]  
Denver, Colorado;  
THOMAS A. DINES, [REDACTED] Denver,  
Colorado;  
VERY REVEREND PAUL ROBERTS, [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] Denver, Colorado;  
JEAN CHAPPELL GRAMER, [REDACTED]  
B. F. CLARK, [REDACTED]  
REVEREND SAMUEL D. MARBLE, [REDACTED]  
ELMER HARTNER, [REDACTED]  
THOMAS E. STEARNS, [REDACTED]  
REVEREND EDGAR WAHLBERG, [REDACTED]  
W. H. HUTCHINSON;  
REVEREND RAYMOND E. WASER, [REDACTED] b7c



HUBERT THOMAS,  
R. H. SUMNER,  
REVEREND CLARENCE W. KEMPER,  
WILLIAM TANNER,  
HAROLD WAGNER,  
REVEREND EVERETT J. HENDRIX,  
RAYMOND C. ERB,  
ARNOLD GRAF,  
DEAN JOHN LAWSON,  
BISHOP WILBUR HAMAKER,  
all Denver, Colorado.

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In case any information is brought to the attention of the Denver Office suggesting a revival of subject organization, the Bureau will be promptly advised.

- REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO OFFICE OF ORIGIN -

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **CHICAGO, ILLINOIS**

FILE NO. **100-897**

REPORT MADE AT <b>GRAND RAPIDS, MICHIGAN</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>5/16/42</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>5/15/42</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>[REDACTED]</b> <span style="float: right;">b7c</span>
TITLE <b>AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE</b>			CHARACTER OF CASE <b>INTERNAL SECURITY - C</b>
<p><b>SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:</b> At the inception of the America First Committee the Executive Committee was found to contain names of both Communists and German sympathizers, as well as conscientious isolationists. The organization did not have a large following in the Grand Rapids Field Division territory. The organization was disbanded December 7, 1941, and no activity has been noted since that time.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">- RUC -</p> <p><b>REFERENCES:</b> Letter from the Bureau to all Special Agents in Charge dated March 16, 1942. Teletype from the Bureau to all Special Agents in Charge dated May 11, 1942.</p> <p><b>DETAILS:</b></p> <p>At the inception of the America First Committee in Grand Rapids, Reverend <b>LELAND SUMNER</b> was Executive Chairman. <b>[REDACTED]</b></p>			
APPROVED AND FORWARDED <i>[Signature]</i>		SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	
COPIES OF THIS REPORT 5 - Bureau 2 - Chicago 2 - Grand Rapids		<p style="text-align: center;">DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES</p> <p style="font-size: 1.5em; text-align: center;">100 - 4712 - 368</p> <p style="text-align: center; font-size: 1.2em;">MAY 20 1942</p> <p style="text-align: center;">[REDACTED]</p>	
		<p style="text-align: right;">RECORDED</p> <p style="text-align: right;">INDEXED</p> <p style="text-align: right; font-size: 1.5em;">b7c</p>	

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(Grand Rapids file 100-997)

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] The greater portion and the control of the Executive Committee appears, however, to have been made up of those individuals who were conscientious isolationists.

This information was furnished by [REDACTED] of excellent character and reputation, was on this committee and was familiar with the activities of the organization. He further informed that JOHN W. BLODGETT, JR., was elected President or Executive Chairman after the group began to function. The activity in Grand Rapids consisted primarily of sending out bulletins and also the feature event was a speech on May 15, 1941, by Senator NIE. [REDACTED] informed that on December 7, 1941, Mr. BLODGETT forwarded a bulletin to all members advising that the Committee had ceased to function, and that everyone should strive to their utmost towards full cooperation in prosecuting the war to the fullest extent.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Any information coming to the attention of this office, which may indicate that the America First Committee may be continuing under other auspices or other names, will be given immediate attention, and the results thereof will be furnished to Chicago.

- REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN -

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **CHICAGO, ILLINOIS**

FILE NO. 100-2293

REPORT MADE AT <b>INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>5-17-42</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>5-8, 12-42</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>[REDACTED]</b> <span style="float: right;">b7c</span>
TITLE <b>AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE</b>			CHARACTER OF CASE <b>INTERNAL SECURITY - C</b>

**SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:**

Names of the Directors of the Indianapolis Chapter of the America First Committee were obtained as well as the state and Indianapolis Committee chairmen. The State organization disbanded on December 12, 1941 under the direction of MERLE H. MILLER, Indiana State Chairman. [REDACTED] is of the opinion that the majority of the membership of this organization was composed of Republicans who were dissatisfied with the administration's policies and took this means of expressing that dissatisfaction.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 4-22-76 BY 9145376/AG/COL

**REFERENCES:**

Letter from the Bureau to all Special Agents in Charge dated March 16, 1942.  
Teletype to the Bureau dated May 11, 1942.

**DETAILS:**

**AT INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA.**

On May 8, 1942 the writer contacted [REDACTED] who advised that he was acquainted with several of the leading figures in the America First Committee particularly in the city of Indianapolis. The Informant stated that it was his opinion that the great majority of these people were members of the Republican political party who were dissatisfied with the apparent aims and objectives of the administration and took this means of fighting it. [REDACTED] expressed the opinion that these people were not

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APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <i>[Signature]</i> 9 JUN 20 1942	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE 429	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES <b>100-4712-369</b>	RECORDED INDEXED
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disloyal Americans, but rather sincere isolationists who believed that the United States should stay out of foreign entanglements and were willing to go to almost any means to avoid entering the European conflict. He further advised that he believes since the attack on Pearl Harbor by the Japanese, these people have truly abandoned the America First Committee and have no longer any sympathies with the program formerly promogated by that organization.

The Informant stated that he had been reliably told that all of the State records were in the possession of MERLE H. MILLER, local attorney who was State chairman of the America First Committee  
[REDACTED] b7c

A review of the file in the Indianapolis office discloses that [REDACTED] b7c b7D

[REDACTED] and said that his committee had received newspaper clippings from the Chicago Daily News of February 12 and 22, 1941 indicating that the German-American National Alliance was financially supporting the America First Committee. He said that the Indiana Committee for national defense was opposed to the America First Committee and had sent a story to the newspapers to the effect that the German-American Alliance was lending financial support to this particular committee.

A clipping appeared from the Indianapolis Star, dated February 23, 1941 which set forth that WILLIAM FORTUNE, director of the United States Chamber of Commerce, was appointed as chairman of the board of directors of the local chapter of the America First Committee. The clipping set forth the following information: Mr. FORTUNE is also a member of the central committee of the National Red Cross.

The local chapter of the America First Committee was organized February 22, 1941, following a meeting at the Indianapolis Athletic Club. MERLE H. MILLER, temporary executive committee chairman, announced that the bulk of the work would be carried on by a group of younger men, but that policies would be directed by a board of directors composed of the following citizens, in addition to Mr. Fortune:

JOHN W. ESTERLINE, chairman of the board of Esterline-Angus Company; president of the Community Civic Association, and leading figure in the city-manager movement from 1921 to 1929.

A. E. ~~BAKER~~, 1941 honored citizen of the Indianapolis Community Fund.

MRS. BRANDT C. ~~DOWNEY~~, a member of the board of directors of the Indianapolis Council of Federated Church Women, and member of the House of Representatives of Marion county.

JAMES I. ~~ROBB~~, president of the State Council and regional director of the CIO.

DAN ~~FLICKINGER~~, captain 30th infantry, 3d division, who served overseas in the last war; past president of the Indianapolis Association of Life Underwriters and past president of General Agents' and Managers' Association of Indianapolis.

RAYMOND C. ~~FOX~~, of Fox & Fox Insurance Agency, and past president of the Indianapolis Insurance Board.

ROBERT L. ~~BROKENBURR~~, member of the State Senate from Marion county; past president, Indianapolis branch of National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; director of Flanner House; member Community Fund Budget Committee, and assistant manager of Madame C. J. Walker Manufacturing Company.

The REV. C. H. ~~MCPHERTERS~~, pastor of the North Methodist Church.

Offices of the chapter were to be opened immediately at 30 North Pennsylvania Street. Among those attending the meeting were WILLIAM L. ~~FORTUNE~~, BURCH ~~FURLEY~~, JOHN ~~BRUEN~~, RALPH ~~SWINGLEY~~, GORDON ~~CUTTNER~~, DAN ~~YOUNG~~, HARRY T. ~~ICE~~, STANLEY ~~LAWTON~~, FRED ~~WELLMAN~~, EDWARD ~~McLAREN~~, DOYLE ~~ZARING~~, BRUCE ~~PALMER~~, TED ~~NICHOLAS~~ AND EDWARD J. ~~GREEN~~.

On February 11, 1941 a letter was directed by this office to the Bureau setting forth that [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] A speaker before the group was one ~~McCARTHY~~, first name unknown, but well known in Cincinnati and connected with the Veterans of Foreign Wars at Norwood, Ohio. ~~McCARTHY~~ is said to speak occasionally on radio programs in the Gibson Hotel, Cincinnati.

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During his talk, McCARTHY stressed the point that the United States should do absolutely nothing to assist Great Britain in her present struggle against the Axis Powers. He condemned the British for their attitude in the past toward the United States and during the course of his talk he mentioned in somewhat complimentary terms the organization, America First, Inc. He did not attack the United States in any way and did not especially make any pro-Nazi utterances but as indicated above his talk was particularly anti-British. He left the impression that he particularly favored such an organization as America First, Inc., although he did not definitely state that he was in any way connected with that organization. The only information contained in the files of the Indianapolis Field Division concerning America First, Inc. is contained in a memorandum on subversive organizations in the United States sent out to the various field divisions and the Bureau by the Chicago Field Division by letter dated November 27, 1939. A copy of this letter was furnished the Cincinnati office for its information and assistance should the Bureau desire further inquiries made with reference to the identity and activities of speaker McCARTHY.

A clipping dated April 3, 1941 from the Indianapolis Star announced that a forum was planned to follow a talk by JOHN T. FLYNN, writer and economist, who would discuss "The Next Step to War" on that date in the Cadle Tabernacle under sponsorship of the America First Committee of Indianapolis. The meeting was opened to the public without charge as announced by MERLE H. MILLER, executive chairman of the committee who was to preside at the talk. Dr. ERROL T. ELLIOTT, pastor of the First Friends Church, was to give the invocation, and Miss JANET AYER FAIRBANKS of Chicago, former Illinois member of the Democratic national committee, was to introduce Mr. FLYNN. Community singing was led by CURT DAVIS and MYRON RODABAUGH was the organist. The reception committee which was to greet Mr. FLYNN upon his arrival in Indianapolis included BURCH NUNLEY, DOYLE ZARING, EDWARD McLAREN, DAN YOUNG and Mr. MILLER. Mrs. BRANDT C. COWNEY was the hostess for the dinner to be held at the Athletic Club. At this dinner Mr. NUNLEY was to be chairman and toastmaster.

Another clipping from the Indianapolis Star, dated March 2, 1941, stated that MERLE H. MILLER addressed a group of two hundred women at an America First Committee meeting on May 1, 1941. Mr. MILLER at this meeting explained the purpose of this committee, and said that "the difference between a dictatorship and a democracy is that in the latter people don't have to take stuff lying down".

The people can say whether they want to go to war. At this meeting the following committee chairman: Publicity, Mrs. J. B. MOYLE; arrangements, Miss MAY HAYES; attendance, Mrs. H. MURCH NURLEY; finance, Miss JANE DECKER; membership, Miss EVELYN VICK. The committee was to meet on May 2, 1941 for the purpose of perfecting plans for Senator Clark's speech.

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

had attended the meeting scheduled for mothers of draftees. This meeting was in charge of Mrs. BRANDT DOWNEY, [REDACTED] Indianapolis, Indiana.

The speaker was Mr. MERLE H. MILLER, [REDACTED] Indianapolis, Indiana, a local attorney.

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The meeting was attended by approximately 105 ladies, the majority of whom were under 35 years of age, and apparently of a high type and of good appearance. We did not attend the meeting personally, but obtained the following information from several different ladies with whom we talked after they had left the meeting.

The meeting was mostly for the purpose of organizing, and much time was spent in appointing committees, etc. The campaign for members is to be conducted mostly by telephone.

The purpose of this organization, as far as could be learned, is to avoid sending troops to Europe, at any cost; they are not opposed to aiding Britain short of war, but believe this country should first adequately arm itself before sending supplies to England, and when supplies are given to England they should be hauled, and conveyed, by the English Navy, and the United States should not,



at any time, haul any war materials to England or convoy any vessels. They are evidently of the opinion that Hitler cannot possibly attack this country, and that it is unnecessary for this country to send an expeditionary force to Europe.

We talked to an unknown lady, who left the meeting during the time Mr. MILLER was speaking, and she said she interrupted his speech when he mentioned something about this country being able to survive if completely isolated. She said he did not answer her question, and that she was asked to sit down by Mrs. DOWNEY; and she then left the meeting and as she did so, Mrs. DOWNEY requested her name and she gave it to her.

After Mr. MILLER had completed his address, he left the meeting and he was followed into the corridor by a lady whom we believed to be Mrs. DOWNEY, and she thanked him for his speech and asked him to try to make arrangements to have CHARLES LINDBERGH come to this city to address one of their meetings, and Mr. MILLER replied he had already tried to make such an arrangement and that he probably would be able to get LINDBERGH here in the near future.

A clipping dated December 2, 1941 was taken from the Indianapolis News and was headlined "America First in '42 Campaign". This clipping was headlined in Chicago on December 2 and added that the America First Committee would support Congress Candidates who have approved war policies. This clipping is quoted as follows.

The America First Committee reported last night that it will take a hand in the 1942 congressional elections by supporting senators and representatives who "have kept faith with the people's mandate to avoid participation in the war."

The committee said flatly, in announcing the program, that "it will not be used as an attempt to build a third political party."

The organization, opposed to American intervention in conflicts abroad and sponsor of a series of rallies in all parts of the nation, outlined its political policies in a statement issued by its national committee.

"Today America is confronted with a condition which strikes at the basic principle of the American way of life--government by consent of the governed," the manifesto sets forth.

"We know from the experiences of other countries that Fascism results when the legislative branch of the government surrenders to one man its power to make decisions for the people. In the face of this same trend toward Fascism in America the immediate duty of the American people is to return to congress only those representatives who faithfully execute the people's trust.

"This program will be undertaken in a spirit free from partisanship and without regard to the political affiliations of the candidates."

The statement contends that congressmen who oppose steps toward war had been subjected to "drastic pressure by the administration," and adds:

"Mr. WENDELL WILLKIE, too, has indicated his intention to attempt to purge Republican senators and representatives who dare to support the pledge in their own party platform against entering the war. The America First Committee, therefore, now feels it to be its duty to enable its members in any state or district to counteract these pressures and themselves to mobilize their supporters behind those public officials who oppose further steps to involve us in war."

On December 13, 1941, a clipping was taken from the Indianapolis Star which set forth that the America First disbanded in Indianapolis. This clipping reads as follows:

Indiana headquarters of the America First Committee will be closed immediately and members will be notified by letter during the week end that the committee has been disbanded, MERLE H. MILLER, Indiana chairman, said yesterday.

Mr. MILLER's announcement followed a statement in Chicago by national directors announcing disbanding of the organization.

However, an American Red Cross unit organized under auspices of the local America First Committee will continue in operation, Mr. MILLER said.

Two other services operated by the local America First group will be retained. One is a group which has supplied Sunday night dinners at the local Service Club. The other helps to

provide recreational programs at Fort Benjamin Harrison.

[REDACTED]

These people have been, according to their own statements, very active in the America First Organization, financially and personally.

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] and the writer checked the "morgue" of the Indianapolis Star and obtained the following information:

In a meeting held May 29, 1941, an address was given by BURTON K. WHEELER, senator from Montana, before eight thousand persons. Chairman of the meeting was JOHN. ESTERLINE, and Senator WHEELER was introduced by MERLE H. MILLER.

On July 2, 1941, a meeting was held at 40 North Pennsylvania Street, at which WILLIAM H. REMY, attorney, was the principal speaker.

On July 25, 1941, GLEN M. FUNK addressed a gathering at 40 North Pennsylvania Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.

On August 6, 1941, Professor CLARENCE MANION, Notre Dame University, gave an address at the World War Memorial. This meeting was presided over by JOHN BRUHN.

A meeting was held at 40 North Pennsylvania Street on August 14, 1941, and was addressed by Miss ALICE WALK of Hobart, Indiana, who is a teacher in the Calumet area of immigrants. Mrs. HAZEL THOMSON, Indianapolis, was in charge of the meeting.

On August 11, 1941, a clipping appeared which set forth the State Committee. This Committee was organized along the lines of permanent Congressional districts and political subdivisions. A chapter was to be organized in each county of the State. This

statement was made at a meeting at which MERLE H. MILLER presided and the following persons were leaders at the meeting:

NAME	ADDRESS
Mrs. O. C. BARON	Elkhart, Indiana
VERA SESSLER	Fort Wayne, Indiana, who is chairman of publicity and out of town delegates.

Also present was Mr. and Mrs. E. JORGENSEN.

The following people were named as State committee members:

PAUL SALLER and PHILIP LONG	Columbus, Indiana
FRANK FIEDLER	Rensselaer, Indiana
J. PAUL BASSETT and HENRY WARD	Kokomo, Indiana
VERA SESSLER	Fort Wayne, Indiana
LESTER B. SANDS	Greencastle, Indiana
GEORGE BRADLEY	Marion, Indiana
EDWARD and HARVEY HUTENBECK	Fair Oaks, Indiana
Mrs. HARRY W. HELMEN	South Bend, Indiana
H. J. LINK	LaPorte, Indiana
CLARENCE and KENNETH RAUB	Gilbert Lane
REX B. WOOD, Mr. and Mrs. OTTO FRISING, and Mrs. VICTOR COONRAD	Gary, Indiana
E. M. WARD, and J. P. FIENERAN	Elwood, Indiana
NATHAN M. ELY	Terre Haute, Indiana
CLEM WILLIAMS	Bluffton, Indiana
A. F. NAGEL and HOMER DIESBACH	Chalmers, Indiana
FRED RAUER	Wolcott, Indiana
THOMAS S. COWGER	Monticello, Indiana

On September 12, 1941 CLARENCE E. BENADUM of Muncie, Indiana, an attorney, addressed a meeting of America First, 40 North Pennsylvania Street, and on September 19, 1941 WILLIAM A. WULFORD addressed a meeting at the same place.

On September 13, 1941 a statement appeared by WALTER FRISBIE and MERLE H. MILLER in which they criticized CHARLES A.

LINDERBERGH for his speech at Des Moines, Iowa shortly prior to that date.

On October 31, 1941 A. R. YOUNG, for whom no residence was given but who was born in England, gave a talk for the America First Committee at 40 North Pennsylvania Street. A meeting was held on October 3, 1941 at Caleb Mills Hall at Indianapolis, at which Reverence EPHRAIM D. LOWE, secretary of the Indiana Christian Missionary Association, gave the invocation. MERLE H. MILLER was the chairman, and Dr. JOHN A. BRIEN, University of Notre Dame, was the principal speaker.

A clipping dated May 3, 1941 announced the meeting on May 4 at which United States Senator BENNETT CHAP CLARK was to give an address on the subject "Shall We Go to War" at the Cadle Tabernacle. This article announced the meeting of out of town delegates which was under the supervision of EARL JEFFRY, who is in charge of State organizational work for the national America First Committee, and WALTER SHIRLEY, who was head of similar activity for local groups.

On May 4, 1941, an article appeared stating that Senator CLARK was to be introduced by WILL H. REAY, former county prosecutor, and that the invocation was to be given by Father JOHN PATRICK REIDY of Ladywood School. BURCH KUNLEY, vice-chairman of the Indianapolis chapter, presided. At the time of his arrival, Senator CLARK was met by a group of overseas veterans, under the leadership of DAN FLICKINGER. This article also set forth that various committee heads had been chosen, and the chairman of the women's organization was Mrs. DAN YOUNG; vice-chairman, Mrs. MERLE MILLER and Mrs. VEDNA CARTER. The secretary was Mrs. H. F. GILLIE, and the corresponding secretary was Miss LYDIA BATES. The secretaries of various committees, publicity arrangements, and attendance were the same as set forth previously in this report, and the co-chairmen of these committees were set forth as follows: publicity, Mrs. RUSSEL COX; Mrs. MARY PATTERSON, member; co-chairman of the arrangements committee was Mrs. FRANK ECK; members of the committee, Mrs. JOHN GAGE, Mrs. NOVELL STRICKLAND. The co-chairman of the attendance committee was Mrs. DON MCINTIRE.

On May 22, 1942, an article appeared in which MERLE H. MILLER, executive chairman of the America First Committee in Indiana, announced that BURTON K. WELLER, Senator of Montana was to speak.

On October 28, 1941 an article appeared announcing that a state convention of the America First Committee would be held in Indianapolis on November 8 and 9, 1941. This convention would be under the leadership of Miss VERA SESSLER of Fort Wayne, who had charge of the membership committee. FRANK MURRAY of South Bend was in charge of the program, JOHN PAUL BASSETT, Kokomo, was in charge of meetings, KENNETH RAUB, Gary, Indiana, in charge of publicity, and FRED WELLMAN, Indianapolis, was to be in charge of finance.

On November 2, 1941 an article appeared in the Indianapolis Star stating that the State America First Committee was to convene on November 8 and 9, 1941, Indianapolis, and that FRED WELLMAN, Indianapolis business man, was to be the convention chairman of this first state convention of the America First Committee.

On November 9, 1941 the temporary state officers were announced as follows:

Temporary State Chairman	MERLE H. MILLER Indianapolis, Indiana
Co-chairman	Mrs. O. C. BARON Elkhart, Indiana
Temporary Secretary	Mrs. MILDRED GILLIE Indianapolis, Indiana

Of particularly interest at this time is to be noted that in the clipping dated March 13, 1941, at which time it was announced that the America First Committee was being disbanded, Mr. MILLER the state chairman advised that three service groups organized by the America First Committee would remain in existence. These were the American Red Cross Chapter organized by the America First Committee; the group which supplied Sunday night dinners at the local service club, and the group that aids in the recreational programs at Fort Benjamin Harrison for inductees. Efforts will be made to ascertain whether these three service groups are still in existence and who is directing their present activities, if such is determined.

[REDACTED] and received literature from him which is being forwarded to the Bureau.

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In the first piece of literature was a copy of instructions on "How to Write a Letter to Washington". This leaflet, although not signed by the America First Committee, was obtained [REDACTED] but the source of the leaflet is not remembered by him. The leaflet sets forth the correct form for letters to be addressed to the Honorable FREDERICK E. VANNUYS, Senator RAYMOND E. WILLIS, and also Representative LOUIS LUDLOW. b7c b7D

A leaflet was obtained which was distributed by the America First Committee of Indianapolis, 30 North Pennsylvania Street, telephone Riley 1613. This leaflet quotes an article which evidently appeared in the Chicago Tribune February 26, 1941. This article set forth the reference should be made to encourage the establishment of new chapters, particularly in those regions in the east where internationalism is rampant, and it pointed out that the opposition to the America First is formidable. Another article obtained [REDACTED] was a booklet entitled "America and the War", by ROBERT M. HUTCHINS, president of the University of Chicago, with the sub-title "The Path to War is a False Path to Freedom". [REDACTED] was of the opinion that he obtained this booklet at the meeting at which Senator WHEELER spoke on March 9, 1941 at Cadle Tabernacle. b7c b7D

[REDACTED] stated that these names were noted on the back because he believed they were recognized at the meeting.

Also obtained was a copy of a drawing by PARRISH, which was copyrighted by the Chicago Tribune in 1941, headed "Foreign Entanglements". This drawing showed President ROOSEVELT, WINSTON CHURCHILL, and JOSEPH STALIN seated above a barbed wire entanglement in which a United States soldier was helplessly entangled, and evidently mortally wounded.

A booklet entitled "Our Foreign Policy," by General ROBERT E. WOOD, acting national chairman, America First Committee, was also obtained [REDACTED] This booklet was a speech made by General WOOD before the Chicago Council on foreign relations. It bore the national address of the America First Committee, 141 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois, and stamped thereon was the address of the America First Committee of Indianapolis, 30 North Pennsylvania Street, Indianapolis, Indiana. On the back of the booklet appeared the national committee of the America First Committee, which is set forth below:

General ROBERT E. WOOD  
R. DOUGLAS STUART, JR.  
J. SANFORD OTIS

CHESTER BOWLES  
DR. A. J. CARLSON  
WILLIAM R. CASTLE  
MRS. BENNETT CHAMP CLARK  
IRVIN S. COBB  
JANET AYER FAIRBANK  
JOHN T. FLYNN  
BISHOP WILBUR E. HAMMAKER  
GEN. THOMAS HAMMOND  
JAY C. HORVEL  
GEN. HUGH S. JOHNSON  
CLAY JUDSON  
KATHRYN LEWIS

Acting Chairman  
Director  
Treasurer

ALICE ROOSEVELT LONGWORTH  
FRANK O. LOWDEN  
HARFORD MACNIDER  
THOMAS H. MCCARTER  
RAY MCKAIG  
STERLING MORTON  
AMOS R. E. PINCHOT  
WILLIAM H. REGENCY  
CAPTAIN EDWARD RICKENBACKER  
EDWARD L. RYERSON, JR.  
LOUIS J. TAPER  
MRS. BURTON K. WHEELER  
DR. GEORGE H. WHIPPLE  
MAJOR ALFRED J. WILLIAMS

Another booklet was obtained [redacted] entitled *b7c*  
"Can Hitler Invade America?" which was published by the America  
First Committee, 141 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.  
This booklet was comprised of facts compiled for the America First  
Committee by JOHN T. FLYNN, from information gathered from military  
authorities and writers on military affairs. The sum and substance  
of the pamphlet as to the invasion of America is to the effect that  
no foreign power or group of powers can operate across the ocean  
and stand in combat with the American Navy and planes operating  
from home bases. On the back page of the booklet appeared the  
national committee of the America First Committee, and a statement  
to the effect that the greatest service to be rendered to the country  
is to write at once to your Senators, your congressman, the Presi-  
dent of the United States and your local newspaper protesting  
against any further steps to involve the United States in any  
further wars. It also set forth that the individual should send in  
his name as a member of the America First Committee, which is working  
to save America from this war.

[redacted] turned over to the writer a form bearing *b7c*  
the address of the America First Committee of Indianapolis, Inc.,  
40 North Pennsylvania Street. This card on one side had space for  
the person to "pledge opposition to Communism, Nazism and Fascism,"  
and stated that "I want to help keep America out of Europe's war,  
and agree to write my congressman". This card had space for the  
name, address, and telephone of the individual, and at the bottom



had spaces to be checked if the individual wanted to "write letters, telephone, work with speakers bureau, do clerical work, organize others, whatever you need". On the back of the card appeared the principles of the America First Committee which are set out as follows:

1. The United States must build an impregnable defense for America.
2. No foreign power or group of powers can successfully attack a PREPARED AMERICA.
3. American democracy can be preserved only by keeping America out of this war.

Another leaflet obtained [REDACTED] was distributed by the America First Committee of Indianapolis, 40 North Pennsylvania Street, entitled "What Can I Do?" with the sub-heading "Democracy in Action". This leaflet sets forth that only the opposition of the people through their letters to Washington has thus far kept us out of war. Members of Congress and the President, too, are both guided and restrained by the views of the people back home. It goes on the say that it is the duty of the citizens to write to their Senators, Representatives, and the President on any important issue and that the most important issue at the present time is the question of the nation going to war. The leaflet further states that letters should be written at periodic intervals to the President reminding him of his pre-election promises. Letters should also be written to the editors of local newspapers and people should join the America First Committee in an effort to keep us out of war. On the back of the leaflet excerpts from the speeches made by President ROOSEVELT in Boston, New York, and Brooklyn are quoted, all of them to the effect that the President has stated that this country will not go to war. b7c b7D

There was also obtained [REDACTED] a leaflet entitled "Can Hitler Invade America?" which is a re-print from the Reader's Digest, April, 1941, the article having been written by JOHN T. FLYNN. This leaflet states in effect that possibility of invasion of the United States is extremely remote and that the United States could be entirely self-sufficient in event of a German victory. It would not be necessary for the United States to cooperate with the Germans after a possible victory by them, for they could economically best HITLER. b7c b7D

[REDACTED] furnished the writer with a copy of a printed letter which, although not distributed by the America First Committee, bears the heading of AMOS R. E. PINCHOT, counsellor at law, 101 Park Avenue, New York. It is to be noted that PINCHOT is one of the national committee of the America First Committee, and [REDACTED] thought that this letter would be of interest in connection with instant investigation. b7c b2d

The letter written by PINCHOT is addressed to President ROOSEVELT, dated October 24, 1941, and is extremely critical of the manner in which President ROOSEVELT allegedly was bringing the United States closer to war. PINCHOT compared President ROOSEVELT's actions and policies with those of Chancellor BISMARCK of Germany immediately prior to the Franco-German War in 1870, and expresses the opinion that President ROOSEVELT is just as responsible for the United States being brought into conflict as BISMARCK was in starting the Franco-German War.

Mr. PINCHOT also criticized the President for his handling of the firing upon of the United States destroyer GREER, and compares this incident with the Ems Telegram through which BISMARCK was able to bring about the Franco-German War.

The above letter is being forwarded to the New York office for its information in the event that it has not here to fore received copies of the same.

**ENCLOSURES:**

To the Bureau: 9 pieces of literature

To New York: Letter written by AMOS R. E. PINCHOT, dated October 24, 1941.

- PENDING -

UNDEVELOPED LEADS

THE INDIANAPOLIS FIELD DIVISION

At Fort Wayne, Indiana.

Will conduct an appropriate investigation to ascertain if the America First Committee is engaging in any present activities.

At South Bend, Indiana.

Will conduct appropriate investigation to ascertain if the America first Committee is engaging in any present activities.

At Gary, Indiana.

Will conduct appropriate investigation to ascertain if the America First Committee is engaging in any present activities.

At Hammond, Indiana.

Will conduct appropriate investigation to ascertain if the America First Committee is engaging in any present activities.

At Elkhart, Indiana.

Will conduct appropriate investigation to ascertain if the America First Committee is engaging in any present activities.

At Evansville, Indiana.

Will conduct appropriate investigation to ascertain if the America First Committee is engaging in any present activities.

At Terre Haute, Indiana.

Will conduct appropriate investigation to ascertain if the America First Committee is engaging in any present activities.

At Indianapolis, Indiana.

Will re-contact [REDACTED] for any information he may have obtained subsequent to the last interview. b2  
b7D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 4-23-91 BY 91433ES/oc/cc

10-12-90 SP8 BTJ/co

ENCLOSURE

100-4712-304

for our troubles than to fight for democracy at home. As Hitler made the Jews his scapegoat, so we are making Hitler ours. But Hitler did not spring full-armed from the brow of Satan. He sprang from the materialism and paganism of our times. In the long run we can beat what Hitler stands for only by beating the materialism and paganism that produced him. We must show the world a nation clear in purpose, united in action, and sacrificial in spirit. The influence of that example upon suffering humanity everywhere will be more powerful than the combined armies of the Axis.

b7c

[REDACTED]

*Card 10-1-90  
 Member - American Legion  
 10-1-90*

# America and the War

by

**ROBERT M. HUTCHINS**

President, University of Chicago

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 4-23-94 BY 915 JKL

10-1-90  
 SP8 RTS/col

*The Path to War Is a  
 False Path to Freedom*

AMERICA FIRST  
 30 N. PENNSYLVANIA AVE.  
 INDIANAPOLIS, IN

PUBLICATION FILE

# America and the War

*Address by*

**ROBERT M. HUTCHINS**

*President of the University of Chicago*

This address was broadcast over the NBC  
(Red) Network, January 23, 1941

**I** SPEAK tonight because I believe that the American people are about to commit suicide. We are not planning to. We have no plan. We are drifting into suicide. Deafened by martial music, fine language and large appropriations, we are drifting into war.

I address you simply as an American citizen. I do not represent any organization or committee. I do not represent the University of Chicago. I am not a military expert. It is true that from the age of eighteen to the age of twenty I was a private in the American army. I must have somewhere the very fine medal given me by the Italian government of that day in token of my co-operation on the Italian front. But this experience would not justify me in discussing tactics, strategy, or the strength to which our armed forces should now attain.

I wish to dissociate myself from all Nazis, Fascists, Communists, and appeasers. I regard the doctrine of all totalitarian regimes as wrong in theory, evil in execution, and incompatible with the rights of man.

I wish to dissociate myself from those who want us to stay out of war to save our own skins or our own property. I believe that the people of this country are and should be prepared to make sacrifices for

humanity. National selfishness should not determine national policy.

It is impossible to listen to Mr. Roosevelt's recent speeches, to study the lease-lend bill, and to read the testimony of cabinet officers upon it without coming to the conclusion that the President now requires us to underwrite a British victory, and apparently a Chinese and a Greek victory, too. We are going to try to produce the victory by supplying our friends with the materials of war. But what if this is not enough? We have abandoned all pretense of neutrality. We are to turn our ports into British naval bases. But what if this is not enough? Then we must send the navy, the air force, and, if Mr. Churchill wants it, the army. We must guarantee the victory.

**WE** USED to hear of "all aid short of war." The words "short of war" are ominously missing from the President's recent speeches. The lease-lend bill contains provisions that we should have regarded as acts of war up to last week. The conclusion is inescapable that the President is reconciled to active military intervention if such intervention is needed to defeat the Axis in this war.

I have supported Mr. Roosevelt since he first went to the White House. I have never questioned his integrity or his good will. But under the pressure of great responsibilities, in the heat of controversy, in the international game of bluff, the President's speeches and recommendations are committing us to obligations abroad which we cannot perform. The effort to perform them will prevent the achievement of the aims for which the President stands at home.

If we go to war, what are we going to war for? This is to be a crusade, a holy war. Its object is moral. We are seeking, the President tells us, "a world founded on freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want, and freedom from fear." We are to intervene to support the moral order. We are to fight for "the supremacy of human rights everywhere."

With the President's desire to see freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want, and freedom from fear flourish everywhere we must all agree. Millions of Americans have supported the President because they felt that he wanted to achieve these four freedoms for America. Others, who now long to carry these blessings to the rest of the world, were not conspicuous on the firing line when Mr. Roosevelt called them, eight years ago, to do battle for the four freedoms at home. But let us agree now that we want the four freedoms; we want justice, the moral order, democracy, and the supremacy of human rights, not here alone, but everywhere. The question is whether entrance into this war is likely to bring us closer to this goal.

**H**OW can the United States better serve suffering humanity everywhere: by going into this war, or by staying out? I hold that the United States can better serve suffering humanity everywhere by staying out.

But can we stay out? We are told it is too late. The house is on fire. When the house is on fire, you do not straighten the furniture, and clean out the cellar, or ask yourself whether the house is as good a house as you would like. You put out the fire if you can.

The answer is that the house is not on fire. The house next door is on fire. When the house next door is on fire you do not set fire to your own house, throw the baby on the floor, and rush off to join the fun. And when you do go to quench the fire next door, you make sure that your bucket is full of water and not oil.

But, we are told, we are going to have to fight the Axis some time. Why not fight it now, when we have Britain to help us? Why wait until we have to face the whole world alone?

Think of the mass of assumptions upon which this program rests. First, we must assume that in spite of its heroic resistance and in spite of the enormous supplies of munitions which it is yet to receive from America the British Empire must fall.

Second, we must assume that the present rulers of totalitarian states will survive the conflict.

Third, we must assume that if these regimes survive they will want to attack us.

Fourth, we must assume that they will be in a position to attack us. This involves the assumptions that they will have the resources to do so, that their people will consent to new and hazardous ventures, that their task of holding down conquered nations will be easily completed, and that the ambiguous attitude of Russia will cause them little concern.

Next, if Britain falls, if the totalitarian regimes survive, if they want to attack us, if they are in a position to do so, we must further assume that they will find it possible to do so. The flying time between Africa and Brazil, or Europe and America, does not decide this question. The issue is what will be at the western end of the line? This will depend on our

moral and military preparedness. A lone squadron of bombers might conquer a continent peopled with inhabitants careless of safety or bent on slavery. We cannot assume that any combination of powers can successfully invade this hemisphere if we are prepared to defend ourselves and determined to be free.

On a pyramid of assumptions, hypotheses, and guesses therefore, rests a decision to go to war now because it is too late to stay out. There is no such inevitability about war with the Axis as to prevent us from asking ourselves whether we shall serve suffering humanity better everywhere by going into this war or by staying out.

The chances of accomplishing the high moral purposes which the President has stated for America, even if we stay out of war, are not bright. The world is in chaos. We must give our thought and energy to building our defenses. What we have of high moral purpose is likely to suffer dilution at home and a cold reception abroad. But we have a chance to help humanity if we do not go into this war. If we do go into it, we have no chance at all.

THE reason why we have no chance to help humanity if we go into this war is that we are not prepared. I do not mean, primarily, that we are unprepared in a military sense. I mean that we are morally and intellectually unprepared to execute the moral mission to which the President calls us.

A missionary, even a missionary to the cannibals, must have clear and defensible convictions. And if his plan is to eat some of the cannibals in order to persuade the others to espouse the true faith, his convictions must be very clear and very defensible



indeed. It is surely not too much to ask of such a missionary that his own life and works reflect the virtues which he seeks to compel others to adopt. If we stay out of war, we may perhaps some day understand and practice freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want, and freedom from fear. We may even be able to comprehend and support justice, democracy, the moral order, and the supremacy of human rights. Today we have barely begun to grasp the meaning of the words.

These beginnings are important. They place us ahead of where we were at the end of the last century. They raise us, in accomplishment as well as in ideals, far above the accomplishment and ideals of totalitarian powers. They leave us, however, a good deal short of that level of excellence which entitles us to convert the world by force of arms.

Have we freedom of speech and freedom of worship in this country? We do have freedom to say what everybody else is saying and freedom of worship if we do not take our religion too seriously. But teachers who do not conform to the established canons of social thought lose their jobs. People who are called "radicals" have mysterious difficulties in renting halls. Labor organizers sometimes get beaten up and ridden out of town on a rail. Norman Thomas had some troubles in Jersey City. And the Daughters of the American Revolution refused to let Marian Anderson sing in the national capital in a building called Constitution Hall.

**I**F WE regard these exceptions as minor, reflecting the attitude of the more backward and illiterate parts of the country, what are we to say of freedom from want and freedom from fear? What of the

moral order and justice and the supremacy of human rights? What of democracy in the United States?

Words like these have no meaning unless we believe in human dignity. Human dignity means that every man is an end in himself. No man can be exploited by another. Think of these things and then think of the sharecroppers, the Okies, the Negroes, the alum-dwellers, downtrodden and oppressed for gain. They have neither freedom from want nor freedom from fear. They hardly know they are living in a moral order or in a democracy where justice and human rights are supreme.

We have it on the highest authority that one-third of the nation is ill-fed, ill-clothed, and ill-housed. The latest figures of the National Resources Board show that almost precisely 55 per cent of our people are living on family incomes of less than \$1250 a year. This sum, says *Fortune Magazine*, will not support a family of four. On this basis more than half our people are living below the minimum level of subsistence. More than half the army which will defend democracy will be drawn from those who have had this experience of the economic benefits of "the American way of life."

We know that we have had till lately nine million unemployed and that we should have them still if it were not for our military preparations. When our military preparations cease, we shall, for all we know, have nine million unemployed again. In his speech on December 29, Mr. Roosevelt said, "After the present needs of our defense are past, a proper handling of the country's peacetime needs will require all of the new productive capacity—if not still more." For ten years we have not known how to

use the productive capacity we had. Now suddenly we are to believe that by some miracle, after the war is over, we shall know what to do with our old productive capacity and what to do in addition with the tremendous increases which are now being made. We have want and fear today. We shall have want and fear "when the present needs for our defense are past."

**A**S FOR democracy, we know that millions of men and women are disfranchised in this country because of their race, color, or condition of economic servitude. We know that many municipal governments are models of corruption. Some state governments are merely the shadows of big-city machines. Our national government is a government by pressure groups. Almost the last question an American is expected to ask about a proposal is whether it is just. The question is how much pressure is there behind it or how strong are the interests against it. On this basis are settled such great issues as monopoly, the organization of agriculture, the relation of labor and capital, whether bonuses should be paid to veterans, and whether a tariff policy based on greed should be modified by reciprocal trade agreements.

To have a community, men must work together. They must have common principles and purposes. If some men are tearing down a house while others are building it, we do not say they are working together. If some men are robbing, cheating, and oppressing others, we should not say they are a community. The aims of a democratic community are moral. United by devotion to law, equality, and justice, the democratic community works together for the happiness of all the citizens. I leave to you the

decision whether we have yet achieved a democratic community in the United States.

**I**N THE speech in which Mr. Roosevelt told us, in effect, that we are headed for war, he said, "Certainly this is no time to stop thinking about the social and economic problems which are the root cause of the social revolution which is today a supreme factor in the world." But in the same speech he said, "The need of the moment is that our actions and our policy should be devoted primarily—almost exclusively—to meeting this foreign peril. For all our domestic problems are now a part of the great emergency." This means—and it is perfectly obvious—that if any social objective interferes with the conduct of the war, it will be, it must be instantly abandoned. War can mean only the loss of "social gains" and the destruction of the livelihood of millions in modest circumstances, while pirates and profiteers, in spite of Mr. Roosevelt's efforts to stop them, emerge stronger than ever.

The four freedoms must be abandoned if they interfere with winning a war. In the ordinary course of war most of them do interfere. All of them may. In calmer days, in 1929, the *New York Times* said, "War brings many collateral disasters. Freedom of speech, freedom of the press suffer. We think we shall be wiser and cooler the next time, if there is one; but we shan't." The urge to victory annihilates tolerance. In April, 1939, Alfred Duff-Cooper said that "hatred of any race was a sign of mental deficiency and of lack of a broad conception of the facts of the world." In April, 1940, Mr. Duff-Cooper said that the crimes of the German militarists were

the crimes of the whole people and that this should be kept in mind when the peace treaty was written.

**WE CANNOT** suppose, because civil liberties were restricted in the last war and expanded after it, that we can rely on their revival after the next one. We Americans have only the faintest glimmering of what war is like. This war, if we enter it, will make the last one look like a stroll in the park. If we go into this one, we go in against powers dominating Europe and most of Asia to aid an ally who, we are told, is already in mortal danger. When we remember what a short war did to the four freedoms, we must recognize that they face extermination in the total war to come.

We Americans have hardly begun to understand and practice the ideals that we are urged to force on others. What we have, in this country, is hope. We and we alone have the hope that we can actually achieve these ideals. The framework of our government was designed to help us achieve them. We have a tremendous continent, with vast resources, in a relatively impregnable position. We have energy, imagination, and brains. We have made some notable advances in the long march toward justice, freedom, and democracy.

If we go to war, we cast away our opportunity and cancel our gains. For a generation, perhaps for a hundred years, we shall not be able to struggle back to where we were. In fact, the changes that total war will bring may mean that we shall never be able to struggle back. Education will cease. Its place will be taken by vocational and military training. The effort to establish a democratic community will stop. We shall think no more of justice, the

moral order, and the supremacy of human rights. We shall have hope no longer.

**WHAT**, then, should our policy be? Instead of doing everything we can to get into the war, we should do everything we can to stay at peace. Our policy should be peace. Aid to Britain, China, and Greece should be extended on the basis most likely to keep us at peace, and least likely to involve us in war.

At the same time we should prepare to defend ourselves. We should prepare to defend ourselves against military or political penetration. We should bend every energy to the construction of an adequate navy and air force and the training of an adequate army. By adequate I mean adequate for defense against any power or combination of powers.

In the meantime, we should begin to make this country a refuge for those who will not live without liberty. For less than the cost of two battleships we could accommodate half a million refugees from totalitarian countries for a year. The net cost would not approach the cost of two battleships, for these victims, unlike battleships, would contribute to our industry and our cultural life, and help us make democracy work.

But most important of all, we should take up with new vigor the long struggle for moral, intellectual, and spiritual preparedness. If we would change the face of the earth, we must first change our own hearts. The principal end that we have hitherto set before ourselves is the unlimited acquisition of material goods. The business of America, said Calvin Coolidge, is business. We must now learn that material goods are a means and not an end. We want

them to sustain life, but they are not the aim of life. The aim of life is the fullest development of the highest powers of men. This means art, religion, education, moral and intellectual growth. These things we have regarded as mere decorations or relaxations in the serious business of life, which was making money. The American people, in their own interest, require a moral regeneration. If they are to be missionaries to the world, this regeneration must be profound and complete.

**WE** MUST try to build a new moral order for America. We need moral conviction, intellectual clarity, and moral action: moral conviction about the dignity of man, intellectual clarity about ends and means, moral action to construct institutions to bring to pass the ends we have chosen.

A new moral order for America means a new conception of security. Today we do not permit men to die of starvation, but neither do we give them an incentive to live. Every citizen must have a respected place in the achievement of the national purpose.

A new moral order for America means a new conception of sacrifice, sacrifice for the moral purposes of the community. In the interest of human dignity we need a rising standard of health, character, and intelligence. These positive goals demand the devotion and sacrifice of every American. We should rebuild one-third of the nation's homes. We must provide adequate medical care in every corner of the land. We must develop an education aimed at moral and intellectual growth instead of at making money.

A new moral order for America means a new conception of mastery. We must learn how to reconcile

36

the machine with human dignity. We have allowed it to run wild in prosperity and war and to rust idly in periodic collapse. We have hitherto evaded the issue by seeking new markets. In an unstable world this has meant bigger and bigger collapses, more and more catastrophic war. In Europe and Russia the efforts to master the machine are carried out by methods we despise. America can master the machine within the framework of a balanced democracy, outdistance the totalitarian despotisms, and bring light and hope to the world. It is our highest function and greatest opportunity to learn to make democracy work. We must bring justice and the moral order to life, here and now.

**I**F WE have strong defenses and understand and believe in what we are defending, we need fear nobody in the world. If we do not understand and believe in what we are defending, we may still win, but the victory will be as fruitless as the last. What did we do with the last one? What shall we do with this one? The government of Great Britain has repeatedly refused to state its war aims. The President in his foreign policy is pledged to back up Great Britain, and beyond that, to the pursuit of the unattainable. If we go to war, we shall not know what we are fighting for. If we stay out of war until we do, we may have the stamina to win and the knowledge to use the victory for the welfare of mankind.

The path to war is a false path to freedom. A new moral order for America is the true path to freedom. A new moral order for America means new strength for America, and new hope for the moral reconstruction of mankind. We are turning aside from the true path to freedom because it is easier to blame Hitler

Chicago Tribune Feb 26, 1947

## AMERICA FIRST.

The America First movement sprang into being as nearly spontaneously as any organization ever did. Many men and women at almost the same moment came to the conclusion that something had to be done and done quickly if this country was to avoid folly and the disasters which flow from folly.

The President and those about him were busily spreading the false fear of invasion. The administration was receiving the powerful assistance of the William Allen White committee as it was then called. Only a few newspapers and individual voices were expressing opposition. The war shouters were having things pretty much their own way.

The turning point may well have been Mr. White's gloating speech when the press agents gave him their annual award. That declaration of how he had put his campaign over made it all too clear that unless the common prudence of the country expressed itself the decision would go by default. We should find ourselves in a war which we had not made, for spoils which we did not want; and in that war we should lose our liberty as well as hundreds of thousands and perhaps millions of our young men.

And so the America First committee came into being and into action. It grew very rapidly. It drew its strength from all walks of life, from men and women of varying political and religious faiths. Because it was the expression of the common sense of the nation, the movement was blessed from the start with common sense leadership.

There were at least two groups of noisy hyphenates who would have liked to use the committee: The professional Irish-Americans and the professional German-Americans. The committee would have nothing to do with either of them. The America First movement was and is just what its name indicates. It is against

participation in the war not because it hates England, which it doesn't, and not because it loves Germany, which it doesn't, but because it believes that America's foreign policy should be formulated with a view to the welfare of America and not primarily for the benefit or injury of any other nation or group of nations. Accordingly, the hyphenates and all others who had an ax to grind were given the bum's rush. Strenuous efforts have been made to get something on the committee but they have all failed. There isn't anything to get.

Today the America First movement, blessed as it is with a wise and patriotic leadership, is the most important as it is also the most promising political phenomenon in the United States. Naturally the movement got its start here in the heart of the continent because here the patriotism of the people is least alloyed. We have no colonial background; we have always been Americans. Our ~~country~~ entry is America. The instinct which led to the organization of the America First committee to combat organized internationalism was strongest here, but we have no monopoly of patriotism.

The movement is spreading rapidly and its spread should be given every encouragement. As quickly as possible chapters should be established elsewhere and particularly in those regions in the east, where internationalism is rampant.

The opposition to America First is formidable. Great names in what is called Society, great names in international finance, great wealth, are encouraging the American people to believe that they can enter the war without sacrificing life and liberty. The game is a reckless one. After the dictatorship bill comes war and after war the end of the republic. It is to avoid that chain of disasters that America First came into being. A nobler cause never invited the support of patriotic men and women. The finest thing an American can do is join America First.

**AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE  
OF INDIANAPOLIS, I.C.**

30 NORTH PENNSYLVANIA STREET

ILEY 1613

## HOW TO WRITE A LETTER TO WASHINGTON

Your President and your Representatives in Congress want to know what you think about this war. In writing them give your own thoughts in your own words in as short a space as possible. The correct form for your letter is as follows:

Address: The President,  
Washington, D. C.

4-23-46 264,250

9145346/col

Salutation: My dear Mr. President:

10-17-90

Complimentary Close: Yours respectfully,

SP98TJ/col

67-2100-01

Address: The Honorable Frederick E. VanHays,  
The United States Senate,  
Washington, D. C.

Salutation: Dear Sir:

Complimentary Close: Very truly yours,

You should also write to Senator Raymond E. Willis.

Address: The Honorable Louis Ludlow,  
The House of Representatives  
Washington, D. C.

Salutation: Dear Sir:

Complimentary Close: Very truly yours,

Mr. Ludlow is the Representative for the Twelfth District, which includes the western portion of Marion County. Mr. William Henry Larrabee is representative for the Eleventh District which includes the eastern portion of Marion County. If in doubt, write to both Messrs. Ludlow and Larrabee.

It would also be helpful to write to Senator Walter F. George, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and Representative Sol Bloom, Chairman of the House Foreign Relations Committee.



# U. S. Holds Upper Hand On Nazis In Trade

A favorite argument of the inter-ventorists is that if Hitler conquers Europe, he will be able to cut off our foreign trade, deny us necessary strategic materials for our defense and other industries, and strangle us into submission to his Nazi regime. This theory holds that a Hitler victorious in Europe could declare economic war upon the United States and, without firing a shot, reduce us to a weak and helpless nation.

This argument is utterly false. It has been emphatically refuted by Bernard Baruch, head of President Wilson's War Industries Board during the World War; by John T. Flynn, George N. Peck, Samuel Crowther, and a host of other eminent and qualified economists.

The simple fact is that if Hitler wins the war—controlling even countries like Russia, Sweden, Spain and Portugal which he has not yet conquered—his trading position, his ability to choose the countries with which he will do business, will be weaker, not stronger. Every country in Europe that Hitler conquers not only makes him less able to cut off American trade, but also makes it more urgent for him to do business with the Western Hemisphere. For there is not one country that he has occupied that does not depend desperately on the outside world either for necessary raw materials to keep its industries going; for manufactured goods, such as clothing; or for food—for meats, fowls, eggs, and grains.

## Germany Always Forced To Trade Outside Europe

Germany has always been forced to do business with the outside world to get food for her people and raw materials for her industries. She has always been forced to import huge quantities of oil, for her synthetic industry supplies well under half her needs. Without that vital fluid her power divisions could not roll, her trains could not run, her vast industries could not function. She has always needed copper—essential for her electrical industries. She has needed rubber, lead, tin, foodstuffs.

When this war is over and her reserve stocks are depleted, Germany will need these things again. They are not in her own soil for her to take. Where can she turn for them?

She cannot get them from the countries she has conquered, for those countries are all in the same desperate position. If Hitler takes France and Italy into his economic sphere, for example, his headaches will only be intensified. France and Italy likewise need food imports. They also need raw materials. A few countries—like Denmark, Spain, Hungary—produce some surplus foods, but hardly enough to serve the needs of a Nazified Europe. And they need raw materials. Some countries—like Albania, Greece, Norway, Sweden—can provide a few raw materials. But they need food—food which the already hungry continent cannot give them.

## Nazis Dilute Own Strength With Europe's Weaknesses

As a result, in Nazifying Europe, the Germans will have diluted their own economic strength with Europe's economic weaknesses. And, according to the Brookings Institution—a recognized, impartial economic organization—this Nazified Europe would have to buy from the outside world each year TWICE as much food, THREE TIMES as many raw materials as did Germany herself in 1937.

Clearly, these facts prove that Hitler will be in no position to dominate world trade. In a study on this subject, issued in June, the Brookings Institution said: "The important requirements of Nazi Europe are so large and so varied that she is scarcely in a position to buy or refrain from buying at will."

Nazi Europe therefore must import—or reduce itself to starving im-

potence. Without food imports, Europe's population would have always to suffer on short rations, lacking in cereals, fats, vegetable oils, meats and dairy products. Without raw material imports of cotton, wool, silk, jute, flax and hemp, the textile industries would be crippled—the people without clothing. Without industrial mineral imports, all manufacturing, mining, transportation, communication and farming would be seriously hampered.

## Even Russia Cannot Close What Germany Needs

Even with Russia under his thumb Hitler would be little better off. He would still have to depend strongly on imports from outside Europe. In 1937, Russia could provide only fourteen percent of the total food the rest of Europe needed to import. Today food is rationed in Russia, and Stalin's policy of destroying farm lands when retreating before the Nazis means there will be food shortages for years to come. In 1937, Russia could provide only eight percent of Europe's raw material imports.

For could Russia provide Hitler with the vital oil he needs? The interventionist *Fortune* magazine itself admitted this June that Russia "has no oil to spare. Soviet oil is vitally necessary for the half-million tractors on Russia's collectivized farms. Oil today is strictly rationed in the Soviet, and Stalin is forced to import regular and high-octane gasoline from the United States to keep his war machine running. If Hitler took Russia's oil, the farms could not be cultivated, for—as a result of the destruction of 15,000,000 horses in the farmers' uprising against collectivization in the twenties—only tractors are available, and these tractors use sixty percent of all the motor fuel produced in Russia. If Hitler takes the oil he needs, therefore, he cannot get the food he needs; and if he takes the food, he cannot get the oil.

Plainly, a Nazi economy that included Russia and the Balkan countries formerly dominated by Russia would still need desperately to buy food and raw materials in the world market. Hitler would have to trade with the Americas. And we could set the terms. For here we produce what he sorely needs.

## Western Hemisphere Has Vital Raw Materials

We have here the copper, and in the past the now Nazified Europe drew on us for eighty percent of its supply. We have the lead—necessary for storage batteries of automobiles, trucks, tanks, tractors and submarines. In the past we provided Europe with two-thirds of its lead import requirements. Nazi Europe has virtually no nickel resources. Nickel is an essential alloy for armor plate. For this Hitler would have to trade with Canada, while holds a virtual world monopoly. He would need cotton, and even if he controlled cotton-producing Egypt, he would still have to trade with Canada, which holds thirds of his needed supplies. The United States is the world's largest producer of cotton. These are a few of the things that Hitler needs—things he will have to get by trade with the Americas.

To get food for a Europe starved after years of war, Hitler would have to trade with us. Already the United States and South America are storing up huge supplies of foodstuffs to ship to an emaciated Europe at the war's end.

While it is evident that Hitler must trade with the Western Hemisphere, however, by no means do the Americas have to trade with Hitler. With the exception of a few food items which are not essential to us, such as tea and spices, we have in the United States an abundance of every kind of food—meats, fruits, vegetables, cereals, dairy products. We are equally secure in the matter of raw materials.

There are fourteen "strategic ma-

terials" listed by the Army and Navy Munitions Board as vitally necessary for American defense and other industrial production that are either not produced in the United States or are produced in quantities inadequate for our needs. These materials are antimony, chromium, coconut shell char, manganese, molybdenum, mercury, mica, nickel, quartz crystal, quinine, rubber, silk, tin, tungsten. But every one of these essential materials can be obtained in the quantity we need from the other American countries, or completely serviceable substitutes for them can be found in North or South America.

## Antimony Production Here Relies On Dependence On China

For example, the United States now buys antimony from China. This is a necessary steel alloy, used in the manufacture of ammunition—shrapnel, shells and bullets. We produce some antimony in this country. Our own production, coupled with increased production in Mexico and Bolivia, can make us self-sufficient in that vital metal. We produce little nickel, necessary for armored plate in tanks, battleships, planes. But we can get more than we need of nickel from Canada, which produces 85 to 90 percent of the world's supply. Much of our tin now comes from the Netherlands Indies and British Malaya. We have a large reserve on hand—a new smelter in Texas is nearing completion that will turn out 18,000 tons a year; other smelters can be put in operation to use Bolivia's large tin resources; and we can use glass as a substitute for many products, such as tin cans.

With every other product essential to the United States the situation is the same. We can either get it elsewhere in the Americas, use an adequate substitute, or we can produce it here. This country normally produces over 50th of the world's steel and could, if necessary, produce far more. One U. S. steel company today has an output equal to that of all Germany. We produce three-fifths of the world's oil, a third of its coal, a third of its copper, four-fifths of its sulphur, one-quarter of its lead, three-fourths of its zinc. We are independent of Hitler, and

even if all the products of a Nazi Europe and the countries under Nazi domination were denied us, could continue to produce all we need for our own use and protection. United States does not have to do business with Hitler or any combination of Hitlers.

## U. S. Can Underwrite Needs In World Markets

In view of America's impregnable trade position, it is obvious that we have nothing to fear from competition with Hitler for markets outside the Hemisphere and a Nazi-dominated Europe.

Nations buy where they can get most for their money, where they can sell their products in exchange. This has always been true and will continue to be true regardless of the ravages of war.

With her industries under the ravages of war, the United States, having abundant material resources and an efficient mass-production machine in the past, undersold the "slave labor" and can do it again.

Bernard Baruch, one of America's most eminent economists who is an advisor to President Roosevelt, often scouted the argument that our country need fear competition from Hitler in post-war trade. In his view with the Wall Street Journal, June 6, 1941, Mr. Baruch declared Germany, not the United States, was "on the spot" economically. Nazis were to win control of the European continent.

Clearly, with Hitler facing a desperate shortage of raw materials at war's end, many of which he can obtain only from the Americas; with the Hemisphere able, if necessary, to provide itself with every essential necessary for its own defense and the United States' requirements; with the United States' resources in trade with the outside world—have nothing to fear from a Nazi European victory.

Hitler cannot invade America with his tanks; he cannot invade us with his trade. If he should ever try, he would be writing the ticket for his own destruction.

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## Can Hitler Invade America?

from the Reader's Digest  
of April, 1941.)

JOHN T. FLYNN

are told that the war in  
our war, because if Hitler  
invaded the United States is  
a will invade America. And  
people believe this so firmly that  
willing to go to any lengths  
Britain defeat Hitler. A great  
question of the day is, there-  
AN Hitler invade America?

we see what Hitler would re-  
in order to do so.

of all, remember that the coun-  
try has so far conquered are much  
at all put together, than the  
United States. Their total populations  
118,000,000. Ours is 136,000,000.  
are seven different countries,  
small compared with Germany,  
(except Norway) right on Ger-  
many's land frontiers. Hitler attacked  
one separately. All he had to do  
is to roll across their borders with  
vast mechanical equipment.

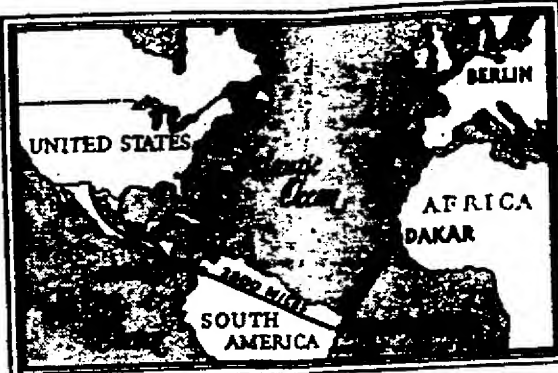
Germany has 86 million population,  
gigantic army and an air force  
THREE times the size of Britain's.  
England has only 50 million people,  
but when Hitler turned on England  
here was the English Channel—only  
21 miles wide at its narrowest point.  
Ten months after France fell, he still  
had not even attempted to cross that  
narrow strip of water with soldiers or  
tanks. When he attempts to invade  
the United States—or Canada—he  
would face the problem of crossing  
with his armies 3,000 miles of the At-  
lantic Ocean and confronting, not 50-  
600,000 people on a small island with  
small natural resources, but a vast na-  
tion with 130,000,000 people and re-  
sources far exceeding his own.

What would be the means of transport?  
If Hitler would have to transport his  
armies across the ocean, they are  
faced with an endless supply of  
cannon and mortars, anti-aircraft  
guns and anti-tank guns and motor-  
ized squadrons and planes. If Hitler  
attempted to invade America he would  
bring not only his soldiers but his  
equipment. Without it he  
would be helpless.

German army leaders have shown  
enough to conquer as with-  
out enough men here to do  
it. How many men would that  
be? Hitler went into Poland,  
as his borders, he marched  
8,000 men. When he moved  
Holland, Belgium and France  
not less than 2,000,000 men.  
It is a fair assumption that to de-  
feat the United States here he would  
at least as many men as he took  
France? Could Hitler conquer  
country with less than three or  
a million men?

But let us suppose that Hitler might  
be crazy enough to try to beat the  
United States with 1,000,000 men.  
How much equipment would he have  
to bring along? Figures based on the  
equipment carried by American army  
units show a staggering amount of  
equipment necessary for such a force,  
though they are very much under what  
the Germans carry. But, on the Amer-  
ican system, Hitler's million invaders  
would have to bring with them, among  
other things, over 44,000 tons of var-  
ious types: over 100,000 vehicles, in-  
cluding 4,500 tanks; and nearly 10,000  
planes.

Such an army would have to bring its  
food, its oil, its ammunition until the  
country is conquered. It would  
require, each day, 9,000,000 pounds of  
rations and supplies, 1,500,000 gallons  
of gasoline, 150,000 gallons of oil. The  
quantities of shot and shell needed  
would be staggering. After Hitler's  
army got here, it would have to keep  
open a continuous flow of provisions,  
fuel, ammunition and replacements of



This Map Shows the Vast Distances Hitler Would Have to Travel With Troops and Equipment of Men, Food, Oil and All Kinds of Equipment If He Ever Tried to Invade America

arms and equipment. Transporting  
this vast army, and the equipment and  
supplies it would require, is beyond  
the power of any country.

Initial Force Of 50,000  
Most That Can Be Sent

Hans W. Baldwin, military expert  
of the New York Times, says: "The  
world's tonnage facilities are such  
that no combination of powers could  
possibly transport more than 50,000  
men in a month. An initial expe-  
ditionary force of 50,000 would be the  
maximum that could be brought  
against us, if the size of conveyance, no-  
t only the size of the ship, but the  
size and the like are considered."

In the World War we sent the ships  
of twelve countries—the Americans,  
British and French—to the Ger-  
mans were without a fleet. The Ger-  
mans were a security plane and sent  
engineers and mechanics ahead of  
them to build ports and docks to un-  
load the equipment.

Let us suppose that Germany has  
defeated England and taken the Brit-  
ish navy. She now decides to send  
her army to America.

U. S. Navy Would  
Be More Formidable

Germany, even with the British  
navy, would have to compete com-  
petitively of the sea. The American navy  
would have to be wiped out. Two  
things must be remembered. First,  
at the end of this war the American navy  
would be larger than the German navy  
and the British navy combined. Sec-  
ond, Germany would have to do its  
naval fighting on this side of the ocean.  
Three thousand miles away from their  
own coasts this navy would be help-  
less against a navy merely its equal in  
numbers but three times its strength  
in effective fighting power.

Much is made of the point that our  
fleet would be divided or wholly en-  
gaged in the Pacific, or that it could  
be closed out of the Atlantic by bomb-  
ing the Panama Canal. This is a de-  
cisive argument for keeping out of  
England's quarrel in the Orient and  
keeping the bulk of our fleet where it  
might be really needed. The weight  
of naval opinion is that Japan would  
never dream of carrying a war to these  
shores. Her interests are in the East.  
If 30 or 40 Nazi ships with 50,000  
men, conveyed by warships, attempted  
to land here, they would not sneak in  
on some dark night. Plane scouts  
would herald their approach days in  
advance. They could not empty their  
cargo on an open beach, but must first  
obtain possession of a secure harbor.

Warships conveying troop trans-  
ports would be open to almost certain  
disaster from shore artillery, always  
considered superior to seaborne guns.  
When these coastal defenses are rein-  
forced by shore-based air forces, no  
military commander would attempt  
landing. The inability of the British  
to land in Norway once Germany had

gotten there first and the deadly power  
of manned airplanes against British  
conveying warships in the Mediter-  
ranean leave little doubt on this ques-  
tion. It was this which led General  
Hagood to say in 1937: "America is  
the strongest military nation on earth  
—that is, the easiest nation to prepare  
for defense." And in 1938 Rear Ad-  
miral Cook told a congressional com-  
mittee: "I do not think that any fleet  
could make an effective landing on our  
coast, whether we had a navy or not,  
provided enough shore-based aircraft  
are available."

Even the planes used by this land-  
ing force must be transported to this  
country by ships. They cannot come  
as hostile craft and find a friendly  
landing here.

Invading Armada  
At Our Mercy

For every man transported there  
must be at least seven and a half tons  
of shipping. An attacking force of  
100,000 men would require 750,000  
tons. Averaging 5,000 tons, this would  
require 150 vessels, conveyed by a fl-  
tilla of seven battleships, several air-  
craft carriers, seven light cruisers,  
a couple of minelayers and at least 70  
destroyers. Imagine this immense  
armada, moving slowly over the seas  
3,000 miles from its own base and at  
the mercy of our navy and air force,  
and compelled to land at a port pro-  
tected by heavy guns and mine-sown  
seas. The idea is fantastic.

To come here after defeating Eng-  
land, Hitler would have to set out  
upon a vast military adventure, using  
up all the resources he has. And he  
would leave behind him on his rear  
Russia, which would welcome his  
plight, and 200,000,000 sullen people in  
Europe who would be watching the  
moment to cause him trouble. That  
moment would come when he was  
compelled to strip himself in Europe  
to fight here. Dictators don't take  
such chances.

President Admitted  
Invasion Is Impossible

The President said in his Message  
to Congress on January 6, 1941: "Even  
if there were no British navy it is not  
probable any enemy would be stupid  
enough to attack us by landing troops  
in the United States from across  
thousands of miles of ocean, until it  
had acquired strategic bases from  
which to operate." Here is a complete  
admission that invasion is impossible,  
from the lips of a man who has done  
more than any other to frighten us  
with the fear of invasion.

The President saves his point by in-  
sisting that Hitler would first have to  
acquire bases in this hemisphere.  
Those bases would have to be much  
closer to the United States than be  
Germany, otherwise there would be no  
sense in bases. Brazil is the South  
American base to which the President  
is fond of referring. This is because  
Hitler could take over West Africa

and concentrate his forces at Dakar,  
which is only 1,000 miles from Per-  
thamouth in Brazil. Hitler will be able  
to cross over the Atlantic at this nar-  
row stretch to Brazil and, as Senator  
Claude Pepper has described it, roll on  
through Venezuela, Colombia, Central  
America and Mexico to the Rio  
Grande.

This proposal is so grotesque that  
it hardly calls for an answer. Before  
he started from Germany he would be  
3,000 miles from the United States.  
After traveling 5,000 miles to Brazil  
he would be farther away from the  
United States than when he started.  
And he would have to march a million  
miles with all their supplies through  
tropical jungles and over rugged  
mountains!

Experts Dismiss  
Greenland Threat

Others tell us he will go to Green-  
land, but military and aviation experts  
know it is impossible to build bases  
there to accommodate either naval or  
airplane units large enough for attack  
here. Even if it were possible, Hitler  
could not do this unless he had com-  
mand of the seas. And if he had com-  
mand of the seas he wouldn't go to  
Greenland.

There are, however, other bases  
from which attacks might be launched:  
Newfoundland, Bermuda, the West  
Indies, or any British or Dutch or  
French possessions in the neighbor-  
hood of the northern coast of South  
America. But American warships  
could almost the very day that Ger-  
many fell take possession of these places  
without firing a shot, spending a dol-  
lar, or losing a man.

As for Newfoundland, there we  
would pursue the policy we would  
adopt for all of Canada. We would  
announce that we would resist with  
force any attack upon that country.  
The same arguments which reveal the  
impossibility of a frontal attack on the  
United States apply to Canada backed  
by the United States.

Conquest by fifth-column penetra-  
tion is suggested. Secret agents can  
certainly aid an invader, but they  
could not be of decisive aid in a coun-  
try as large as ours nor effect POS-  
SESSION of any country in this hemi-  
sphere. Some go so far as to say Hit-  
ler could take over Brazil by tele-  
phone. I have been able to find no  
military authority who believes that  
Germany could seize a country on this  
continent except by military conquest  
and occupation.

Air Fleet Non-Existent  
That Could Conquer Us

But how about aerial conquest?  
Well, there is not in existence any  
fleet of planes that could menace us  
from Europe or from any base such as  
Greenland or the Azores. Some bom-  
bers could get over and drop a few  
bombs. But everyone knows by now  
that you do not conquer a country  
merely by dropping bombs on it. It  
must be occupied.

Americans are willing to aid Britain  
because they hate fascism, they are  
against Hitler, they look upon the  
English government, despite its aristo-  
cratic character, and its empire, as  
more civilized than Hitler's dictator-  
ship. They are willing to help through  
a generous sympathy. But they should  
disabuse themselves of the  
panicky illusion that they must help  
Britain because a victorious Hitler  
would conquer America next.

We must provide this country with  
defenses that will make an invasion by  
any force, however great, impossible.  
But few Americans want to create a  
force capable of invading Europe or  
Asia and carrying on an aggressive  
war there. And it is a SIG-  
NIFICANT FACT THAT THERE IS  
NO MILITARY AUTHORITY IN  
THIS COUNTRY WHO BE-  
LIEVES THAT AN INVASION OF  
AMERICA BY GERMANY—WITH  
OR WITHOUT THE BRITISH  
FLEET—IS POSSIBLE.



FOREIGN ENTANGLEMENTS

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## Our Foreign Policy

by

GENERAL ROBERT E. WOOD

Acting National Chairman  
America First Committee

Speech before the Chicago Convention  
on Foreign Relations

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## America First Committee Principles

1. The United States must build an impregnable defense for America. With such a defense no foreign power, or group of powers, can successfully attack us.

2. Americans should and do cherish the ideals of democracy and abhor dictatorship, but the welfare of one hundred thirty million Americans and the preservation of democracy on this continent demand that the United States keep out of foreign wars.

3. The cash and carry provisions of the existing Neutrality Act are essential to American peace and security. Within the limits of that Act, Americans may properly aid Great Britain. Aid to her beyond the limitations of the present Neutrality Act would weaken our defense at home, and might well involve us in conflict. We oppose any change in the law which would permit American vessels to enter the combat zone or which would permit the American Navy to convoy merchant ships through that zone, as any such course would inevitably plunge this country into Europe's war.

4. With proper safeguards for the distribution of supplies and the maintenance of our neutrality, Americans should, to the limit of their ability, give humanitarian aid to the suffering and needy people of England and the occupied countries.

## Introducing General Wood

By Clay Judson

Former President of the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations

We are at a crisis in our international relations. On the decisions now made by the people of this country and their leaders may depend our national welfare for generations to come.

At earlier meetings you have had presented to you dramatically, brilliantly, emotionally, the views of those who believe that the ideal of American life now demands a full participation in the war between England and Germany, and a willingness to take all the risks of war which that involves.

Now there is another view, equally patriotic, equally above question from the standpoint of ideals—but diametrically opposed in its spiritual and its practical approach to the problem. This view sees America's destiny as the preservation of peace for its 135,000,000 people; the abstention on any account, and no matter how emotional the appeal, from European and Asiatic wars; the maintenance of the processes of democracy and of civilization.

Those who hold this view are certain that we cannot enforce democracy on the rest of the world by force and arms. They believe war will be ruinous to everything we cherish most, and they believe we can avoid war, and should make every effort to do so.

This is the view of the man who addresses you today. He was born sixty-one years ago in the State of Missouri. Forty years ago he graduated from the United States Military Academy at West Point. His first military service was in the Philippine insurrection. As Chief Quartermaster at Panama during the days of the canal construction under General Goethals, he was charged with the duty of acquiring food, clothing, and supplies for the 40,000 employees and officials in the canal zone. During the World War he had a major responsibility for supplying our entire military establishment. After the war, in civil life, his ability gave him immediate recognition in the commercial world, where he served for ten years as President of Sears, Roebuck & Company, and is now the Chairman of its Board of Directors.

For his outstanding services during the World War he was awarded the Distinguished Service Medal. He is a Commander of the British Order of St. Michael & St. George. He is a Knight of the French Legion of Honor. At present he is the Acting Chairman of the America First Committee.

I am honored in presenting to you General Robert E. Wood, who will speak on "Our Foreign Policy."

## General Robert E. Wood's Speech

### "Our Foreign Policy"

I hesitated to accept the invitation of my friends, Dr. Lichtenstein and Mr. Utley, to address this gathering for two reasons—first, because I do not feel on a par as a speaker with the very eminent persons who have addressed these gatherings; second, because my views are opposed to those of a probable majority of my listeners—and I may add—opposed to those of some of my dearest friends and relatives. I have a brother-in-law on the William Allen White Committee.

But it is one of the beauties of a democracy that in time of peace, at least, men are free to express their opinions and honest men respect opposing opinions if those opinions are sincere and free of ulterior motive, and now is a time for all honest men to express their convictions.

#### The Hour of Decision

This country is on the eve of momentous decisions. The results of these decisions may be so far reaching that they may have an effect for good or bad on the life of this country for at least a generation. I am at the stage of life when I do not care as to the effect on myself or my own generation. I do greatly care what the effects will be on my children and grandchildren and their generation.

There are two schools of thought in this country on the subject of our foreign policy. They may be termed "Interventionists" and "Isolationists." These terms are not exactly descriptive, because all interventionists are not extreme interventionists and most isolationists are only isolationists as to Europe and Asia, but not isolationists as to the balance of North America and South America.

I except from my discussion those who have ulterior motives—anything except the welfare of our country. That would include the Communists who really desire to destroy our Government; the Nazis and members of the Bund who put the interests of Germany above those of this country; some ultra-pacifists who forget the interests of their country in their desire for peace at any price; a limited number of extreme Anglophiles who put the interests of Great Britain above those of their own country.

### Our Common Ground

These schools of thought are in violent opposition, but there are certain points of agreement among all classes except perhaps what may be called the lunatic fringe of our population.

These points of agreement are:

*First*—The necessity for a strong defense—a strengthening of our army and navy and air force. Our people are practically unanimous on this subject—the only differences are on differences of detail. It is obvious that the richest nation of the world, in a world of force, must make itself impregnable.

*Second*—The belief that no foreign nation must obtain possession of any part of the two Americas and that the United States must be prepared to defend the North American continent, and at least that portion of the South American continent as far as the Equator. There is some difference of opinion as to whether military and naval protection should go as far as Cape Horn.

*Third*—Access to our great industrial plant by Great Britain within the limits of the neutrality law—that is, unlimited right of purchase by Great Britain of planes, tanks, munitions of war, raw materials from private manufacturers, provided she can pay for them and provide her own transportation. And this I may add is a very great aid.

Without this aid now being given, England could not long carry on the war, for her supplies of raw materials, her steel making capacity, munitions and plane plants are insufficient for a long major war. Without the production facilities of the United States she would be crushed. Theoretically, Germany is entitled to the same privilege—actually, on account of the British blockade, she cannot use our facilities, but she has no right to complain. I believe the overwhelming majority of the citizens are in accord with these three principles. I know I am.

#### Here Differences Begin

But it is when we get beyond the third point that opinion diverges sharply. The present administration in power, probably the majority of our editors and columnists, a very influential body of public opinion as represented by the Committee to Defend America by Aiding Britain is in favor of our government turning over some of our flying fortresses, more destroyers, more planes, and merchant ships. Others, even more extreme, favor an outright alliance with Great Britain and a declaration of war on Germany.

Now what are the fundamental arguments for this point of view? They may be reduced to three principal reasons:

*First*—The totalitarian state with its ideology, with its record of persecution, is repugnant to our ideals and should be destroyed, even if we have to enter a war to accomplish this result.

*Second*—Our own protection depends on Britain as our first line of defense, and if she falls, we are exposed to the onslaught of a totalitarian combination. Per se, it follows that we must give England all the aid we can, even at the risk of entering the war.

*Third*—If Britain is defeated, it will be impossible for a free competitive, unorganized and unmanaged industrial system to compete with a totalitarian system.

### War Does Not Destroy Ideologies

As to the first reason, you cannot destroy an ideology by waging war on it. The conditions created in Europe by the Versailles Treaty were largely responsible for the rise of Hitler and the Nazi philosophy. The history of Europe for the last 100 years is a story of cruelties, persecutions, injustices. No government was more repugnant to our ideals and ideas than the old Czaristic regime of Russia—it had over many years a series of pogroms, but we remained on friendly terms with Russia. Up to 1917 we had always remained true to the principles of foreign policy laid down by the founders of our country: the policy of keeping aloof from the quarrels of Europe and Asia.

The Communistic regime of Russia under Lenin and Stalin was equally opposed to our principles and was detested by the majority of our people. Nevertheless, we have maintained our relations with Russia, and we have certainly had no idea of making war on that country.

### Sentimentalists or Realists?

A nation cannot be a knight-errant. It must be realistic. Great Britain, during her entire history, has been coldly realistic, and her success in building up her Empire has been due to her realism. As individuals we can give vent to our generous impulses or even to our pet hates, but our statesmen, our editors, our moulders of public opinion must consider that it is not their individual fortunes and lives that are to be considered, but those of 130,000,000 of their fellow citizens.

Now as to the second reason—our military defense in the event of a German victory. Our country has gone through a curious transformation of thought since May 10th. From an underestimate of the military and economic strength of Germany, it has gone to the opposite extreme of overestimating that strength. From some of the remarks heard on the Eastern seaboard in June, we would have thought that New York and Boston were in imminent danger of being bombed.

### Bombings Alone Cannot Win

Now the events in Spain, Poland, Belgium and France showed the major importance of the air arm when supported by tanks, infantry and a modern army. But Spain showed that bombing of cities, unsupported by an army, cannot win a war or even shake the morale of a population if the nation is of tough fibre like the Spanish and English peoples.

Apparently the Battle of England is demonstrating the same principle. Unless an army can cross the Channel, the German air force cannot impose a decision on England. Casualties and material damage—yes. The 15,000 casualties in London so far are but a drop in the bucket for a nation of 45,000,000 people; more casualties were incurred in single days of the Verdun, Ypres and Somme offensives. The destruction of apartment houses, stores, public buildings do not constitute a blow to the military strength of a nation. If the docks, railroads, power plants and munitions plants are put out of commission, it does affect the military effort, but unless it is done on a gigantic scale the nation cannot be subdued, and all evidence is to the effect that military damage thus far has not been of such a serious character as to severely impair the island's defense.

### Can England Be Invaded?

As for an invasion, at the great risk of being called a false prophet, I doubt whether any invasion will ever be made, and if it is attempted, it will be decisively repulsed. To land 250,000 Germans in England, with mechanized equipment, ammunition and necessary supplies, would be a gigantic operation. Once landed, that force would have to face 1,500,000 Englishmen under arms, fighting on their own island behind strong defenses. And to land those 250,000 Germans means practically complete mastery of the air, blocking off the English fleet, complete control of the Channel—none of which objectives have yet been attained after more than a month of intensive

effort. To sum up, I doubt whether the island can be conquered, and I am quite sure the British fleet cannot be put out of commission.

Now we come to our own danger of invasion and the perfectly fantastic hysteria that pervaded this country after the battle of France. I think any competent military or naval expert, certainly the vast majority, will tell you that there is absolutely no danger of an invasion of the United States even if Germany is completely victorious, and I doubt whether she will be. The amount of shipping required for the transportation of even 250,000 men of a modern mechanized army with their ammunition and supplies over 3,000 miles of ocean is colossal and it is to be presumed that our own navy and air force will not be idle.

**No Army Can Attack U.S.**  
If it is impracticable or at least exceedingly difficult for an army to cross 25 miles of Channel, what valid grounds are there for supposing that a large army can cross 3,000 miles of ocean to invade a continent?

Some will inquire—why should it not be possible for Germany to seize bases in Mexico or Central America and attack from those countries. Again, that presupposes an overwhelming sea power. But even if that sea power were present, there would again be the same difficulties of a 3,000 mile long line of communication for an invading army. And an army once landed must cross an exceedingly difficult terrain before ever arriving at the Texas border. I think that hypothesis may be safely dismissed.

**Panic First—Then War!**  
Now we come to the favorite bogey—air attacks. I quote from Major Al Williams' recent speech, reprinted in the Congressional Record—"Oceans and extended lines of communications are still vital factors in modern warfare. President Roosevelt's panicky flight schedule for the air invasion of America is ridiculous, worthy of Hollywood and certainly not of the White House. To support my argument against the President's wild flight schedule for a foreign air invasion of the United States I offer a single incontrovertible reason. With all their air power the Germans could not attack and subdue England from air bases 300 to 500 miles distant. Instead they seized air bases on the north coast of Holland, Belgium and France 20 to 100 miles distant from the coast of England. Each and every stage of

the fantastic itinerary for the air invasion of America would have to be conquered for the establishment of major air bases for the enemy attempting the job. The President must know this—but apparently the pattern is panic first, and then war."

**An Exhausted Germany Is Harmless**  
All of this presupposes a completely victorious Germany, ready at the end of a long and costly struggle, to immediately embark on a new and perilous adventure across 3,000 miles of ocean against a nation of 130,000,000 people. The present war represents seven years of preparation on the part of Germany. So-called total war represents a prodigal expenditure of labor, money and effort. Steel is rapidly consumed, aircraft and mechanical equipment are rapidly worn out, reserves of all kinds are exhausted, not to mention the wear and tear on human beings. A nation that for seven years has been given guns instead of butter is apt at the end of this war to demand more butter from its leaders.

So on every count it seems inconceivable to me that Germany at the end of the war, even if aided by its allies, who will be in a worse condition of exhaustion than Germany itself, will attack the United States. And if this country with its 130,000,000 people and its two great natural ocean barriers cannot defend itself unaided by Britain or anybody else, it does not deserve to survive. The great nation that has to trust to others for its defense is on the downward path to destruction.

**Europe Must Have Our Goods**  
Now as to our economic problems. An economic war after the war—the loss of our European, Asiatic and South American trade. I have a high personal regard for Walter Lippmann's brains and ability, but I believe his picture of an unequal contest between a totalitarian economy and a free economy is misleading. After all, when two nations or two continents each have things the other needs trade eventually results regardless of the feelings each may have for the other. Europe needs us more than we need Europe—our materials and products are more important to her than hers to us. True, Germany has reduced largely its purchases from us, but more from necessity than choice. As far as South America is concerned, we can always obtain the lion's share of the trade of Mexico, Central America, Colombia and Venezuela because we buy the metals of Mexico, the coffee and bananas of Central America and Co-



lombia, the oil of Venezuela. In those countries, our geographical location must always give us the edge. We can take the coffee of Brazil but not its cotton; so its trade will naturally divide between Europe and the United States. It is in Argentina and Chile that our troubles come. We cannot take the meat, cotton and wool of the Argentina because we produce those products ourselves. The same applies to the copper and nitrates of Chile. We cannot sell unless we buy and that is a far greater obstacle than all Nazidom.

It must not be forgotten that Germany put on an intensive drive for trade in South America in the period 1936-1938, and if my recollection of the figures is correct, while Germany's percentage of the trade gained somewhat, the gain was not large, and it was largely at the expense of Great Britain; our trade declined only a fraction of one per cent.

### **We'll Get Our Share of Foreign Trade!**

No man can foretell the future, but as long as we have products South America can use and above all, if they have products we can use, we will get our full share of the trade. As for Asia, the same remarks pertain as to Europe. Japan needs us far more than we need her. Our trade with Japan incidentally runs between five and six times the trade of China, whom we are making such great efforts to help. Even if Japan gets control of the Dutch East Indies—and that is not assured—she is going to be more anxious to sell us rubber and tin to obtain dollar exchange than we are to buy the products. And if war with Japan comes, we can get Bolivian tin and develop our synthetic rubber. We are certainly as resourceful as the Germans who are filling 90% of their rubber requirements with the synthetic article.

In 1937 Colombia's trade with us was 168,000,000 pesos, with Germany 40,000,000. Of Venezuela's trade, the United States took 12.5% of their imports and furnished 53% of the exports, Germany 13.6%. Of Costa Rica's imports, 42.5% came from the United States, 23% from Germany. Of her exports 45% went to the United States and 19.5% to Germany.

As for lack of organization, if needs be, we can meet fire with fire; we can set up export cartels and mass purchasing organizations and we can do this without danger to our system.

### **The Americas Must Stand Together!**

Americans like myself feel that our true mission is in North America and South America. We stand today in an unrivalled position. With our resources and organizing ability we can develop, with our Canadian friends, an only partially developed continent like North America and a virgin continent like South America. The reorganization and proper development of Mexico alone would afford an outlet for our capital and energies for some time to come. And while I think we should try in every way to maintain the friendship of our neighbors to the South, I think we should also make it clearly understood that no government in Mexico, Central America and the Caribbean South American countries can be tolerated unless it is friendly to the United States and that we will make every effort to prevent the spread of totalitarian influence there.

Instead of what seems to be a sane objective we are on the verge of throwing our treasure and our blood into a European war, with consequences that no one can foretell.

I respect the honest views of honest Americans, no matter how opposed they may be to my own, but there are two matters that I resent: First is the attempt to smear any one opposed to what I might call the majority publicized viewpoint of what we should do in this war. When the editor of a New York "newspaper" denounces Col. Lindbergh as the head of the Fifth Column in the U. S., we have reached the summit of mud slinging. You may disagree violently with Col. Lindbergh, you may feel he has made serious mistakes, but you have no right to denounce a courageous, patriotic American citizen as a traitor merely because he disagrees with your views. This is as bad as the Nazis, an attempt to suppress freedom of speech.

The other point I resent is the way the issue is being presented to the American people. We are being edged into the war without the masses' knowledge. We have the anomalous situation of the polls showing a majority of the people favoring a course that is bound to get us into the war, while the same polls show 88% of the same people oppose actual entry into the war. That shows that the minds of the people are confused.

### **How Wars Are Sold to Us**

Many of my hearers were adults at the time of the previous war and were familiar with the propaganda that led up to that war. If you want to know the

history of that propaganda and its falsity, read a book by Sir Philip Gibbs with the title of "Now It Can Be Told," in which he admitted the outrageous lies that were perpetrated on the American public. And Sir Philip Gibbs was no German but the leading English war correspondent, knighted by his King. The London Economist in a recent issue said it was only a question of time until American public opinion could be brought to the point where we would actively enter the war.

I believe a majority of the people who are advocating "aid short of war" do not desire us to enter the war. But there are others who do desire us to enter the war, who are taking the necessary steps to prepare the American people for active participation, who would enter it tomorrow if they dared, who are today in practical alliance with England, and unfortunately they are the people who are shaping our national policy today. You hear in Washington today that we are now in the war. You hear predictions from men, and men who ought to know, that we will actively enter the war within sixty days after the election.

The American people should think this matter through. The course we are pursuing is bound to involve us in the war. You cannot play with fire and not get burned. You cannot have your government, not private manufacturers, transfer its equipment to foreign powers, you cannot have your government in an unofficial alliance with a foreign power, you cannot be a meddler in Indo-China, berate Italy and Germany without eventually involving the nation in war, and if war comes I venture to predict that we will repeat the history of the last war. When the declaration of war was made in 1917 originally it was intended to send only the Navy to the assistance of the Allies.

### Man-Power, Too!

Joffre came over in the spring of 1917, told the plight of the French Army after the 1917 spring Champagne offensive, where whole divisions of the French Army mutinied, and implored us to send over a token force, otherwise France would collapse. We sent Pershing and the First Division, about 30,000 men. Then came the impending collapse of Russia, frantic calls for more men, then the great German offensive of 1918 and the rout of the British Fifth Army, more frantic appeals, until finally we put under arms 4,000,000 men, sent 2,000,000 men

to France, spent 20 billion dollars and had 150,000 casualties. I need not refer to our treatment by our former allies after the Armistice. They took the loot, we did not even get thanks.

I do not often agree with the editorials on foreign policy in my friend Frank Knox's paper, but there is a recent editorial with which I am in 100% agreement. The editorial quoted two recent speeches by both Presidential candidates in which both pledged themselves never to send American boys to France. The editorial spoke of both these pledges as political bunk and very truly stated that if we entered the war we would enter it to win, and, if necessary to win, we would send an expeditionary force—and that is the absolute truth.

### The People Must Know the Truth

The issue should be honestly presented to the people. If we aid Britain, short of war and beyond the limits of the Neutrality Act, it ultimately means war and should mean war. If we enter the war, we must enter it with all our strength in men and money. That is the only way to win a war.

If the military reports from abroad are correct, I feel there is no doubt that Great Britain can defend her island, her dominions like Canada, Australia and New Zealand. She may lose Egypt, the Suez and Gibraltar, though this is extremely doubtful. So far the Italians have shown no signs of real offensive strength. There is little doubt that England can make a negotiated peace by which she can keep her fleet and her colonies, but which will leave Germany the economic control of Western Europe. But she cannot decisively defeat Germany unaided. Her statesmen privately admit that, and say that for her to gain a decisive victory we will have to actively enter the war. One of the great mistakes made by the Allies in this war was that in its first six months they thought they could win a safe economical war, with France sitting behind the Maginot line and England maintaining its blockade, with little expenditure of blood and a minimum expenditure of treasure. For us to actively enter the war means ships, planes, money, men, expeditionary forces. That is the issue that must ultimately be presented to the American people, and it should be presented openly, honestly and squarely.



## Our Own Democracy Will Be Sacrificed

In deciding this issue, the American people should face the costs. We start with a debt of \$50,000,000,000. With the enormous cost of waging modern war, the cost of sending forces over 3,000 miles of ocean, of engaging our navy in the Far East, we would ultimately face a debt of from 100 to 150 billions. Victorious or defeated, we will be faced at the conclusion of such a war with great economic dislocations—the rich would face a capital levy, the middle classes impoverishment, and the masses a lowered standard of living and the loss of most of the social gains so far secured.

Competent observers believe that if the war is prolonged in Europe over one or two years, it will result in Communism in all Europe, and a species of National Socialism in England. If we are involved, it probably spells the end of capitalism all over the world.

## Defend America First, Last, Always

I would unhesitatingly say to throw everything we have into a war to defend the United States or our own sphere of influence, which is the North American continent and part, if not all, of the South American continent. I do not think the American people should make these sacrifices to interfere in the quarrels of Europe and Asia, old, sick and overpopulated continents with ancient rivalries that cannot be healed. It is up to the American people to decide whether they want to make these sacrifices to preserve not England but the British Empire, and help regulate Europe and Asia. But they should make the decision with all the cards on the table, not misled by artifice and subterfuge.

But if that decision is given affirmatively, I think you will find Americans like myself, who sincerely believe such a course spells disaster to the nation, will be at their posts of duty in the service of this country. I am old fashioned enough to believe in the toast offered by Stephen Decatur back in 1816, "Our Country! In her intercourse with foreign nations, may she always be in the right: but Our Country, right or wrong."

10-4-40

Additional copies of this speech can be obtained from America First Committee, 141 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.

## AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

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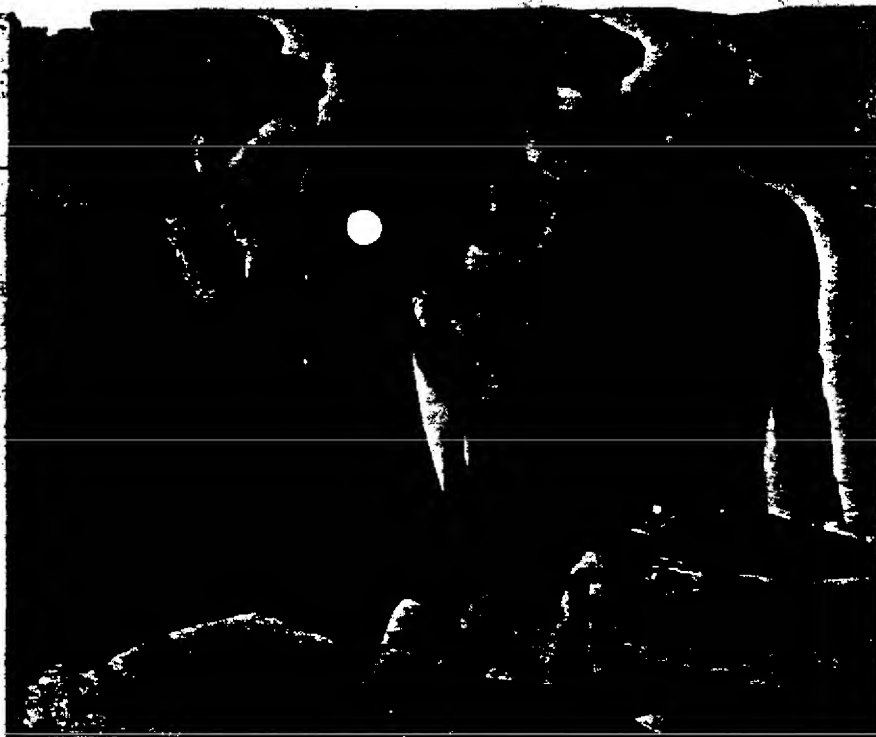
I contribute \$\_\_\_\_\_ to the work of the Committee.  
(You do not need to contribute to join the America First Committee.)

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FV'S FERDINAND SMITH SPARKS WAR BOND DRIVE

Wilhelmina Adams, chairman, NY Women's War Savings Committee; Nell Hunter, Washington War Savings staff and Robert Braddick, deputy administrator, Negro War Savings staff, look on as Ferdinand Smith, NMU secretary and member, FV's board of directors, completes check for \$50,000 purchase of war bonds by NMU.

## Poll Tax Fight Gets Big Start; Victory Assured By Coalition

One of the greatest anomalies of modern times is slated to go. A condition in which 10,000,000 Negro and white American citizens are denied the right to vote while the nation spends billions to preserve democracy and extend the Four Freedoms to every corner of the globe, is about to be corrected. A coalition of congressional sponsors of anti-poll tax bills in the first session of the 78th Congress and a coalition of organizations behind these bills was made known last Tuesday to FV via phone immediately after the last signature to the congressional declaration was obtained.

A lesson was learned in last session's fight to remove this dead and disgraceful weight to American progress. The Ceyer-Pepper Bill was not brought by petition to the House floor for a vote until the second session. The delaying tactics of the opposition, in the face of large appropriation bills, made possible a filibuster by the Southern block that killed the bill. This un-American filibuster still rankles in the minds of patriotic citizens and is predicted to be an important factor in further arousing the people to support the fight. Organized action has grown to such proportions over the last two years that a snow-balling effect is expected.

### MARCANTONIO ENTERS BILL

The unified strategy has been placed behind Bill HR 7, introduced in the House by Vito Marcantonio (ALP of NY). Petition No. 3 to discharge the Judiciary and the Rules Committee is now on the Speaker's desk and 14 Congressmen had already signed. The main thing now is to get the rest of the 218 signatures as quickly as possible in order that the bill will come up for an early vote in the House

so that it will get to the Senate in time to prevent a filibuster there late in the session.

The speed with which the requisite 218 signatures are obtained depends upon the power of the drive in each Congressional District. The people of one state can not oblige a Congressman of another state to sign. The fight must be made by the people, Congressional District by Congressional District, each Congressman moved by the people he represents.

Setting up of anti-poll tax committees in each Congressional District with white and Negro organizations, labor unions and progressive win-the-war organizations spearheading, to bring pressure on each Congressman to sign the petition, is the order of the day, according to leaders of the fight. Much of this strategy was planned at the Washington Conference called by the National Conference to Abolish Poll Tax.

### ORGANIZATIONS JOIN

The entire labor movement and hundreds of civic, racial and political organizations participated and answered the conference call. The National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax, a superb

machine representing all groups, voted the Friday preceding its Conference to support the Congressional coalition of the poll tax bills.

National Federation for Constitutional Liberty, with headquarters in New York, said, "This coalition inside Congress and out, is the biggest blow for progress of the American people and against the poll-taxers that has yet been struck." It was this organization that published last year, the most comprehensive Memorandum No. 3 explaining every phase of the poll tax question, and sent them to every Congressman and by the thousands throughout the country.

### BROADCAST CAUSE

Congressman Vito Marcantonio in a recent broadcast over the National Broadcasting Company said, "In this war the effects of anti-poll tax legislation extend beyond our own borders. Not only will the abolition of the poll tax lift the morale of the 15 billion loyal Negro Americans in this country and thereby forge that national unity which is so essential to victory, but it will be living evidence and reaffirmation to our United Nations Allies and to the Colonial peoples in India, Africa, Latin America, and

## Here's Your Chance To Help:

# \$2,000,000 Bond Drive Gets Off With a Bang!

Sparked by a \$80,000 purchase of war bonds by the National Maritime Union, the campaign to raise two million dollars in war bond and stamp purchases among Negroes in the northeastern area swung off to a fast start last week. The NMU purchase was handled by Ferdinand Smith, secretary of member of FV's board of directors.

The campaign is being conducted in Greater New York, including New Jersey, Connecticut and Rhode Island. Helping to coordinate the efforts of all groups in the campaign are FV, the NY Amsterdam Star News, NY Age, each of which papers is contributing \$300 in bonds toward prizes to be awarded to the individuals or organizations selling the greatest number of bonds. A \$100 bond is first prize for individual competitors. Second prize is a \$50 bond. Third prize is a \$25 bond.

### PRIZES OFFERED

For the group competition (clubs) there are prizes of bonds valued at \$100, \$75, \$50 and \$25 for the four groups selling the most bonds.

There is also a special competition for women's auxiliary groups, with prizes of \$100 and \$50, in bonds.

Among children under 12 years of age, competition in sale of war

**Maj. Gen. Johnson Heads Second Horse Cavalry**

WASHINGTON. — Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson announced Thursday that Maj. Gen. Harry H. Johnson, National Guard officer from Texas, has been placed in command of the 2nd Horse Cavalry Division of Negro troops, being activated at Fort Clark, Texas.

The new division, the Secretary said, is an expansion of the 4th Cavalry Brigade which has among its elements of the veteran 9th and 10th Cavalry Regiments, oldest colored outfits in the army. The unit is entirely mounted. Gen. Johnson was assigned to the cavalry during most of his National Guard service, and is a veteran of the World War.

the Caribbean of our earnest and high resolve to win the battle for a free and democratic world. The best demonstration of our sincerity to extend democracy all over the world is for us to extend it now, before the war is over, to everyone within our own borders."

The Congressman pointed out that this is not force legislation against the South. "We in Congress," he said, "have heard thousands of fine Southern people of all races and creeds who understand the vital issue involved . . . and who want to see it through. . . . It is supported by all branches of the labor movement, CIO, AFL, and the Railway Brotherhoods. It has the overwhelming support of church people, Catholic and Protestant—of women's organizations, of organizations of Negro people and other minorities. . . ."

stamps offers a prize of a \$25 bus for the child under 12 selling the greatest number of stamps among school children.

For the New Jersey area the NJ Herald News is donating \$30 in bonds to be distributed as prizes as follows: Club selling highest number of bonds, \$75; individual high sales winner, \$75; child selling highest number, \$25 as women's auxiliary topping its list \$25.

In Connecticut and Rhode Island, the New England editor of the Pittsburgh Courier is donating \$300 in bonds to be distributed in the same manner as those prizes in New Jersey.

### TREASURY COOPERATING

The actual sale of bonds will be handled by a representative of the USTreasury Dept. Competitors' prizes need secure only the pledge. Any club or group, having as a five membership of not less than five people can enter the campaign. To secure credit for sales as a club it will be necessary for a specially representative of the club to actually purchase the bonds for the Treasury Dept. representative. Clubs or individuals may purchase stamps to be applied against purchase of bonds when the minimum price of \$18.75 is reached. Each bond then will be credit to the club's standing.

That's the scenario. It's a chance to do two things at one time, both of which are pretty important: everybody concerned. By selling war bonds and stamps, you can help to build up rapidly the resources of our country and bring victory sooner.

And, by selling as much as you can, you stand a good chance of a nice little war bond for yourself.

War bonds, you know, are soundest investment today. Go in and inquire. You won't regret it.

### Ex-Servicemen Warned They're Still in Draft

To prevent embarrassing Brigadier General Amos Brown, NY State Director Selective Service, last week formed men who have served from the armed forces that they are required to report their status to the local board with which they are registered.

Notwithstanding their previous military service, each man is warned that they may be prosecuted as delinquents if they fail to contact their local board promptly upon their return home.

# Dead Woman's Identity Baffles Dixie Court; White, Negro Sue

ATLANTA—A white woman and a Negro man were in opposite camps, of a suit in the Fulton County Superior Court here last week. Both claimed ownership to an estate of the dead, declared the deceased "white" and Bill Jones who married her, told that she was a Negro.

Was she white? Was she a Negro? The court was to decide last Saturday. But, two of the all-white jurors became ill and the judge automatically ruled a mistrial in the case. The case is the latest in the history of Georgia courts. So tricky was it until not a single paper in the city or state dared print a word of it.

**MARRIAGE IS CLAIMED**  
Testimony brought out that the late Mrs. Maggie Petty Jones, a white mother. On this point the elderly Mrs. Irish contends to be the only living relative of the deceased.

On the other hand, Bill Jones, a middle-aged well-known Atlantan, declares he was married to Mrs. Jones and points out that her last name is his. He told the court he married her in 1914 and lived with her until her death in 1941.

Attorney H. A. Allen, representing Jones, produced witnesses who testified that the couple lived together as man and wife.

**WAS ALMOST WHITE**  
The defense, represented by the firm of Mitchell and Mitchell, attempted to show that Mrs. Jones was "almost white" and wouldn't have considered marrying a man as black as Jones.

To prove that the deceased was a Negro, Attorney Allen secured testimony which showed that she was admitted to Spelman College's hospital and was funeralized by Levy Brothers. Even workers employed with Jones at one time, spoke up in his behalf.

**WAS WHITE UNTIL**  
Napoleon Thomas, brother-in-law of Bill Jones, told the court

## Negro Council Wears Nice Big Bandanna

WASHINGTON—The National Negro Council (NNC) and United Government Employees (UGE) met jointly here Sunday, Mar. 7, unveiled the biggest bandanna yet heard of, then stuck their



heads under it. The groups adopted a number of resolutions, apparently on every subject that anybody thought to mention.

The bandanna knot was tied, however, with a resolution urging Negroes to support the Dies Committee which has confined two years of probing "un-American activities" to looking for communism and ignoring the Ku Klux Klan and other un-American activities of standing equal to that of the communists or anybody else.

**HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED**  
DATE 10-11-80 BY SP-5/GO

that Miss Petty was considered as a white woman until she adopted Jones. They became lovers after Jones reached manhood. The woman was 20 years older than the man. The witness also pointed out that the woman was jealous of Jones and cut him on one occasion.

After this switch-blade episode, according to Thomas, the woman explained to Jones' mother that they were married.

**HOW COURT STRAINED**  
In attempting to show that the late Mrs. Jones was more white than Negro, defense attorneys declared that she was white up to 1927 and a Negro after that time. They went on to show that up to 1927, the Georgia law said that a person with one-eighth or less of African blood was white. The law changed in 1927, they said, making a person a Negro if he had any percentage of African blood.

**664 QUESTIONS**  
Who will be the heir to the estate of the late Mrs. Maggie Petty Jones? Will the courts rule the deceased to be "White" or a Negro? Did the jurors fake an illness or were they really sick?

Answers to these questions will have to wait on farther time. Maybe they will be answered during the April term of the Fulton County Superior Court when the case will probably receive another airing.

## Groups Discuss Plans For 'Carver' Launching

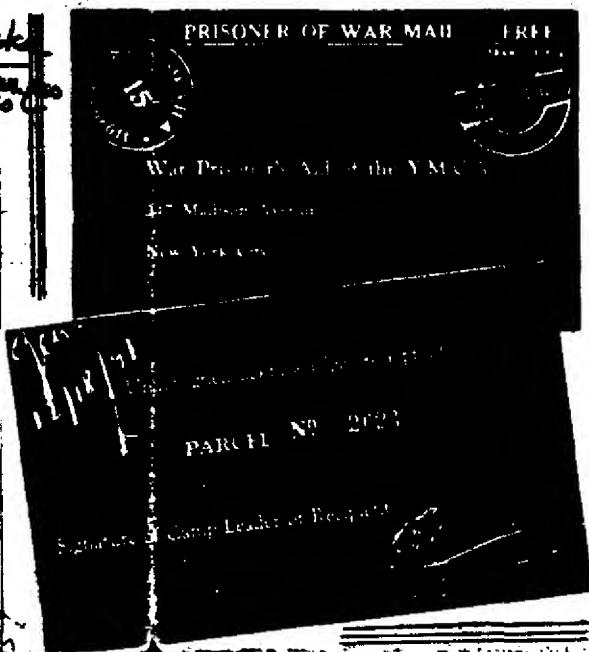
OAKLAND, Calif.—Plans for launching the liberty ship, SS Dr. Carver, from the Richmond yards have started widespread activity among citizens in the Bay area. Communications have already been sent to the Maritime Commission, expressing appreciation for its selection of this center for the ceremony.

The program committee, composed of representatives from union, civic, and press groups will meet this week to discuss further plans. Various sub-committees will also be appointed at the meeting.

## US Offers Free Training In Various Trade Courses

Persons interested in receiving training for work in vital war industries should apply at the Metropolitan Vocational High School, 45 Oak st., between 10:30 am to 7:00 pm.

Eligible for training are males and females over 18 years of age. The courses, sponsored by the US government, include machine shop work, ship sheet metal, and other allied trades, and last from three to eight weeks.



**GOODS RECEIVED—CONTENTS NOTED**  
The receipts shown are from Camp 7-Z in Bavaria, Germany, and were sent to the War Prisoners' Aid of the YMCA by the camp commandant. They prove Reginald Perry and Jack Taylor, former Harlem branch athletes now interned in the prison camp, received the clothing they wrote for months ago.

## Harlem Athletes, Nazi Prisoners Given Clothing, Receipts Show

Last week, PV carried the story that the War Prisoners' Aid of the Young Men's Christian Association had received authenticated word from Camp 7-Z in Bavaria, Germany that two former Harlem branch "Y" members, Reginald Perry, wrestler, and Jack Taylor, boxer, along with six other men were confined there and had written for various articles of clothing.

The YMCA has not only sent the articles the boys asked for, but forwarded to PV, Monday, photo-stats of receipts sent by the prison camp proving the articles were received by the prisoners.

In more than 600 war prison camps, YMCA representatives of the War Prisoners' Aid Committee help captive soldiers, sailors, marines, and all prisoners of war or interned aliens, regardless of nationality, race or creed. They report the most urgent needs of the prisoners to camp headquarters at Geneva, Switzerland, and from there supplies are sent to the camps.

The estimation is that some 8,000,000 persons are now prisoners of war in more than 40 countries on all the continents of the world, with Germany holding more than two-thirds of them.

## Facing Induction, Commits Suicide

MARTINSVILLE, Va. — A Negro youth, apparently worried over the induction of his brother into the army and his slated induction within a few days, hanged himself, Monday, Feb. 22. Divers King, 18-year-old youth, was found hanged at his home by younger children.

Dr. H. C. Hammond, coroner, reported the hanging, and it was thought the youth committed suicide over the drafting of his brother the same day and his scheduled induction within a few days. It was reported that King was slated to go to the army in the city's Selective Service call on March 10.

## Alice-Kip Affair

## \$3600 Yearly Won By Alice Jones

ALBANY—New York's Court Appeals reversed the lower court Thursday, when it upheld the will of Alice Jones, former wife of late Leonard Kip Rhinelanders collect \$3,600 a year for life the estate of his father, K. Rhinelanders.

Alice Jones and Leonard Rhinelanders were married in 1924 lived together for approximately a month, when he made the discovery that Negro blood flowed through her veins. On that day he sued for an annulment of marriage in Westchester County but lost his case in one of the notorious jury trials of the 30's.

He then obtained a divorce Nevada in 1929. Miss Jones meanwhile sued Philip Rhinelanders for \$500,000, claiming he alienated his son's affections for her. She and the elder man signed an agreement July 8, 1930, which Miss Jones was paid \$8 a year until his death in 1940.

Adelaide R. Thomas and her guardians and executors, in that the agreement did not mention the elder Rhinelanders' death the Appellate Division, Second Department, supported the Thursday's decision by the Court Appeals ruled that the agreement was enforceable. Judge Deane read the prevailing opinion. Judge Conway was the lone dissenter.

## Eleazer Gives Up Interracial Post

ATLANTA—R. B. Eleazer served 20 years on the Comm on Interracial Cooperation for last week. According to the motion picture on his retirement Dr. Rufus E. Clement, Atlanta president, few southern whites—if any—have done more in decades to improve interracial operation. It said in part:

"The Commission expresses deep gratitude to Mr. Eleazer for his untiring, unselfish and faithful work. The Commission realizes that this work, done out of fanfare and publicity, is to result in as great good have permanent effect as a gram which it had undertaken."

"The Commission acknowledges its indebtedness to Mr. R. B. Eleazer and desires to have expression made a part of official history and record work in this highly significant of social adjustment."

Dr. Eleazer came into the mission a comparatively young man, gained the dislike of whites in carrying out his but continued to build up appreciation of interracial work in the minds of white south the majority of them being He retired from the staff Commission.

**BUY WAR BONDS, STAMPS  
AND HELP LICK THE**

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

CHICAGO

FILE NO. 100-233

REPORT MADE AT <b>OMAHA</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>5/20/42</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>4/22, 23, 24, 25, 27-5/4/42</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>[REDACTED]</b> <span style="float: right;">b7c</span>
TITLE <b>AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE</b>			CHARACTER OF CASE <b>INTERNAL SECURITY</b>

[REDACTED] of solicitation of donations and a group of [REDACTED] attendance at Lindbergh rally in Des Moines, Iowa during September 1941. Temporary Chairman, [REDACTED] WARD, appointed about June 1, 1941, attempted to organize active group in Omaha. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] No meetings [REDACTED] and no officers elected. Investigation [REDACTED] close any evidence of group activity. [REDACTED] b7c  
b7D

[REDACTED] No indications of any activities [REDACTED] since

December 7, 1941

- P -

DATE 10-17-90

SP8 BTJ/ccl

REFERENCE:

Bureau letter to all Field Offices, dated March 16, 1942.

DETAILS:

At Omaha, Nebraska

Omaha file of the America First Committee, which had been compiled without any investigative action, disclosed that [REDACTED] was interviewed at the Omaha Field Office at the request of Special Agent [REDACTED] b7c  
b7D

APPROVED AND FORWARDED:

AGENT IN CHARGE

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furnished a copy of the pamphlet, "Our Foreign Policy", which was made a part of the Omaha file.

[REDACTED] b7c b7D

[REDACTED] at which time he furnished additional literature issued by the America First Committee, entitled "Here is the Road to War". This was also made part of the Omaha file.

On September 4, 1941, there appeared in the Omaha World Herald a news item, stating that FRANK C. WARD, printing and office supplies salesman, of 2719 Fontenelle Boulevard, had said that he was the temporary Chairman of the Omaha group of the America First Committee, and that a caravan was being arranged to attend the rally in Des Moines, Iowa, where CHARLES A. LINDBERGH would be the principal speaker. WARD refused to tell the names of the other officers, according to the paper, as well as the size of the organization, date, and place of the next meeting of the group. This article also disclosed that WARD formerly operated the Ward Printing Company and present office was 202 Patterson Building. WARD stated that the men whom he shared the offices were not interested in The America First movement.

[REDACTED] b7c b7D

The Morning World Herald, on October 3, 1941, carried a news article indicating that a America First group had been formed at the University of Nebraska, which was attended by two dozen students. At the meeting were STANLEY LOWE, Sophomore from Alma, Nebraska, who was organizer and acting Chairman of the campus group; former Congressman HENRY C. LUCKEY, of Lincoln, principal speaker of the evening; LUCKEY PAUL, his grandson; and Miss MARIAN AXFORD, Nebraska Wesleyan University student and former Youth Director for Lincoln's Trinity Methodist Church. LUCKEY was said to have declared, "If we hadn't gotten into the first World War, 'Nazi or Fascism' wouldn't have happened". He cited the terrible injustices of the treaty of Versailles on Germany and the attitude of England toward war debt and payment. LUCKEY stressed the terrible cost that participation in a European war would mean, charging such participation would only serve to make a few "international financiers" rich. During the forum, petition

bearing resolutions that the Neutrality Act be retained in its present form and voicing the approval of the aims of the America First Committee were passed through the crowd. The newspaper article stated that there were only three signers, one signature of which was signed "ADOLPH HITLER".

On October 23, 1941, The Morning World Herald carried an article that a constitution establishing a University of Nebraska Chapter of the America First Committee was approved by the student council at its regular meeting. AXEL LOUIS ~~BERG~~QUIST, Assistant Professor of Germanic languages, was said to be the sponsor of the group. The principles of the group were outlined and included; keeping out of war, preserving democracy at home, keeping naval convoys and merchant ships on this side of the Atlantic, building an impregnable defense and aiding opposed peoples in occupied countries with supplies of food and clothing. Another principle was added by the campus group, declaring the committee stands for "tolerance, human idealism and American realism", and "condemning anti-Catholicism, anti-Semitism". The constitution provided for the immediate dissolution of the group should congress declare war.

On October 14, 1941, an article appeared in the Evening World Herald, disclosing that FRANK C. WARD, Chairman of the America First Group, in Omaha, had requested the use of one of the municipal courtrooms in the City Hall for the committee's meetings, once a week, at night. WARD was said to have advised that the committee membership had outgrown the capacity of the present meeting quarters. The motion was taken under advisement, and offered by Commissioner HARRY ~~ST~~JUSTIN.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b7c  
b7D



On November 21, 1941, [REDACTED] telephonically communicated with Special Agent [REDACTED] and gave the information that he had overheard a conversation between a [REDACTED] and another woman, which lasted for about 3/4 of an hour. They discussed the fact that everyone should help LINDBERGH and Senator WHEELER and stated that they wished someone would poison Mrs. ROOSEVELT, and that all the money goes to the Jews. [REDACTED] also mentioned that in the course of the conversation [REDACTED] told the other party that she should get in touch with the lady at [REDACTED] as she could be of assistance. [REDACTED] was the number the telephone conversation was being had and which he had listened to, and that this number was listed under the name of [REDACTED] and was advised that there was [REDACTED] The Omaha City Directory lists a [REDACTED] a widow, residing at [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] who resides at [REDACTED]

The following investigation was made by the reporting agent.

[REDACTED] who had previously reported that [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] were active in the America First Committee, advised that he had tailed [REDACTED] three years ago and advised that he is a good friend of [REDACTED] however, could not offer any specific information as to why he had associated the two together. He had learned that [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] were in the America First Committee from a private source of information, and advised that he would disclose the identity of this person if her name would be held confidential.

[REDACTED], advised that his organization placed a surveillance on FRANK C. WARD because of his anti-semitic views. [REDACTED] explained that he himself, being a Jew, was naturally concerned about the activities of WARD. He produced reports [REDACTED] which were dated September 27, 28, and 29, 1939. These reports contained no pertinent information. [REDACTED] could not give any specific information as to anti-Semitic activities by WARD, but stated that he had been close to [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] who requested not to be quoted, was contacted and advised that she lived in the neighborhood where [REDACTED] formerly resided, and also close to the home of FRANK C. WARD. She could give no specific information as to the reason why she had connected [REDACTED] to the America First Committee, or why she thought WARD and [REDACTED] were friendly.

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] had advised the Field Office previously that [REDACTED] had heard [REDACTED] make pro-Nazi statements, however, [REDACTED] advised that he did not know WARD. [REDACTED] further stated that [REDACTED] along about the time he had made the report to [REDACTED] probably not over five or six in all, addressed to the America First Committee. After that they had ceased all together.

[REDACTED] the matter of letting temporary Chairman, FRANK C. WARD, and the America First Committee, use [REDACTED] rooms for a meeting place of that organization, was interviewed by Agent [REDACTED] [REDACTED] advised that this matter was never voted on and [REDACTED] had not made available the use of any of their rooms to this organization as a meeting place. [REDACTED] stated that he was told that previous meetings of this organization had been held in Crounce Hall, 16th and Capitol Streets.

[REDACTED] there was no record that disclosed that the America First Committee had used this hall as a meeting place. The years 1940 and 1941 were examined. b7c b7D

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] She advised that she had read in the paper that WARD was connected with the America First Committee, but did not know anything about his activities in it.  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]



After discussing this matter, [redacted] said that he and [redacted] or in any asked WARD not to [redacted] way connect them with the America First Committee. [redacted] advised that he and [redacted] did not wish to be identified with this group at all.

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UNDEVELOPED LEADS

THE OMAHA FIELD DIVISION

At Lincoln, Nebraska

Will make appropriate investigation to determine the recent activities of [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] b7c

At Omaha, Nebraska

Will, through confidential sources, report any attempts to contact former America First members by subversive groups.

- P E N D I N G -

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